CLIVEDEN

THE CHEW MANSION IN GERMANTOWN

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Cliveden, the Germantown estate built between 1763 and 1767 as a summer retreat for Philadelphia lawyer and jurist Benjamin Chew, stands today as a monument of Philadelphia Georgian architecture. The merits of the building alone make the study of the property worthwhile. The Historic Structures Report (HSR) for Cliveden, ably prepared by Martin Jay Rosenblum and Associates, documents the building and modifications to the structures over the years.

The assignment to chart the social history of Cliveden offered the rare opportunity to study the use of the property over a two hundred year period. Planned as the companion to the HSR, this volume seeks to add a human dimension to this important dwelling. It also serves as resource for Cliveden's guiding staff in interpreting the site.

Unlike most projects of this type, there is a wealth of primary material on which to draw. The eighteenth-century house survives with relatively few modifications to the original structure. Additions and changes to the primary buildings on the site—the house, dependencies, and coach house and stable—are well documented. The Chew family's penchant for preserving the records that chronicle their domestic life provides the window for understanding the family's use of the property. Most of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents are in public repositories in Philadelphia, Maryland and Delaware. Much of the twentieth century material remains in family hands. I am especially grateful to the Chew family for allowing me access to this material. The study also benefitted immeasurably from oral history interviews with several family members—the late Anne Chew Barringer, the late John Thompson Chew, Richard W. Barringer, Jr., Elizabeth Chew Bennett and Lowry Chew Stephenson—and former Chew family employees Russell and Elmira Saunders.

A project of this magnitude cannot be carried out in isolation. The staff of the Manuscript Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania—Linda Stanley, Louise Jones, Ellen Slack, Gloria Thompson, Toby Gearhart, and others—were extraordinarily helpful. They remained cheerful through the onerous task of retrieving the 250 boxes of Chew Papers—over and over and over again.

The Tilghman Family Papers at the Maryland Historical Society provided background on some of the Chew family's activities in Maryland. Although the full collection had not been catalogued, Jennifer Bryan made the early material available for study.

Without the help of the reference staff at the Library Company of Philadelphia—Mary Anne Hines, Philip Lapsansky, and Denise Larrabee—and the librarians of several special collections in the Winterthur Museum Library—Neville Thompson, Richard McKinstry, Bert Denker, and Heather Clewell—many questions about life in Philadelphia and Germantown in the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries would have remained unanswered.

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CLIVEDEN
THE CHEW MANSION IN GERMANTOWN

Placed well back from the road, the impressive stone mansion known as "Cliveden" stands today in a six-acre park overlooking Germantown Avenue about six miles northwest of center city Philadelphia. Built between 1763 and 1767 as a summer retreat for Benjamin Chew, a prominent Philadelphia lawyer-jurist and protégé of the Penn family, the house and surrounding grounds were intended to convey Chew's position in the community. In a city blessed with a rich colonial heritage, Cliveden might simply be another historic house were it not for two particulars. First, except for an eighteen-year period at the end of the eighteenth century, Cliveden has an unbroken line of ownership through six successive generations of the Chew family from its construction until it was acquired in 1972 by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Second, the Chew family preserved both objects and a wealth of documents that chronicle their domestic life over that two-century period providing a window for understanding the past.

The house stands today as a monument of Philadelphia Georgian architecture. But the history of Cliveden is more than the record of stone and mortar. It is the story of people—the people who built and modified the house and the people who lived and worked there.

Introduction

In the early 1760s, Philadelphia was a center of commercial activity. Host to ships from Britain, Europe, and the West Indies as well as vessels from other American colonies, the city was also a hub for overland trade to towns in the interior. A contemporary view, Scull and Heap's *An East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia* (1754), shows the homes, churches, public buildings, and commercial establishments that formed the city scape stretched in a thin line along the Delaware River, reaching back from the waterfront only about seven blocks. Philadelphia was a city of contrasts: riches and poverty, more taverns than schools, libraries, and theaters, and fine homes placed not far from garbage-littered streets where hogs roamed free. It is little wonder that several of the more successful merchants and their counterparts in other professions chose to build homes beyond the bounds of the city proper for relief from the rigors of city life. Among the country houses built for this purpose were "Belmont," the estate of William Peters built 1745-1750, "Mount Pleasant," the Georgian mansion commissioned by Captain John MacPherson in 1762-1765, and "Port Royal," the country house of merchant Edward Stiles in Frankford, completed in 1767. In 1763 Benjamin Chew joined a growing list of wealthy individuals with country estates.

The son of Samuel Chew (1693-1744) and his first wife, Mary Galloway (d. 1734), Benjamin Chew (1722-1810) (Fig. 1) was born at "Maidstone" in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, below Annapolis. His father, a Quaker physician, became associated with the Penn family while in Philadelphia in the early 1730s and later

served as their representative in legal matters for the "Three Lower Counties" (now Delaware). With the Penn family's encouragement and support, young Benjamin Chew moved to Philadelphia about 1736 to begin his study of the law, the first step in a promising political career. The traditional eighteenth-century pattern of legal instruction combined several years of study with an established local attorney and formal training in England. Young Chew was fortunate to be apprenticed to Andrew Hamilton, the pre-eminent attorney of his generation, and read law with him until Hamilton's death in August 1741. Chew left for London in June 1743 to complete his legal education. That October he entered Middle Temple of the Inns of Court, the finest British law school of the day, but read law for less than a year before his father's death in June 1744 forced his return to America to settle the estate. Admitted to the Pennsylvania bar in 1746, he practiced in Dover and New Castle (now Delaware) before settling in Philadelphia in 1754. Chew married his cousin Mary Galloway in 1747. Her death, in 1755, left him with four young daughters: Mary (age 7), Anna Marie, called "Nancy" (6), Elizabeth (4), and Sarah (2). Two years later he married Elizabeth Oswald (1734-1819) (Fig. 2), niece and heir of prominent Philadelphia merchant Joseph Turner. By 1762, the family had grown to eight with the birth of a son, Benjamin Jr., and a fifth daughter, Margaret, always called "Peggy." (For a brief Chew Family Genealogy see Appendix I).

Chew's political career and his rise to a position of social prominence in Philadelphia was linked to his close personal ties with the Penn family. He served as the Penns' representative to the commissions resolving the boundary disputes between Pennsylvania and Maryland (1751) and Pennsylvania and Connecticut (1754). In 1755 the Penns rewarded his efforts by appointing him Attorney General of the Province of Pennsylvania, a post he would hold until November 1769. Other positions followed: Recorder for the City (until June 1774), Member of the Governor's Council, and Chief Justice of the Province of Pennsylvania, a post he accepted in 1774. Chew also served as the Penn family's legal advisor on matters relating to their land holdings in Pennsylvania, an office he continued until shortly before his death.

By 1762 Benjamin Chew had achieved social prominence in the city. During most of the year the family lived in a town house on South Third Street in one of the most fashionable sections of the city. But like several of their neighbors, they spent the worst of the summer months removed from the health concerns of the city. In the summer of 1762, Philadelphia suffered a devastating yellow fever epidemic. Dr. Benjamin Rush later estimated that there were as many as twenty deaths daily during the months of August, September, October, November, and December, totaling roughly one-sixth of the city's population.[1] The disease reached across all levels of society and all who could leave the city did so to distance themselves from the problem. The severity of this epidemic was a strong contributing factor in Benjamin Chew's decision, the following year, to build a summer home away from the city.

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[1] Benjamin Rush, *An Account of the Bilious remitting Yellow Fever, as it appeared in the City of Philadelphia in the year 1793*, (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1794), p. 13.

I: "The Enchanted Castle"

BUILDING CLIVEDEN, 1763-1767 [2]

Interest in country properties soared in the wake of the 1762 epidemic. Of the many advertisements of land for sale in the Philadelphia newspapers, one placed by merchant and land speculator Edward Penington in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (April 7, 1763) caught Benjamin Chew's eye:

> TO BE SOLD. A Piece of Land at the upper end of Germantown, with two small Tenements thereon, containing eleven Acres; it is pleasantly situated for a Country Seat; and there is a good Orchard, Garden, and Nursery on the same, in which are a great Variety of Fruit Trees, of all Kinds....For Terms of Sale, enquire of EDWARD PENINGTON.

As a potential retreat, Germantown had several advantages. It combined the desired pastoral setting with a thriving town that offered many of the services enjoyed by the family in the city. The location was ideal. Less than two hours from Philadelphia by carriage (forty-five minutes on horseback), it was sufficiently removed to offer a healthful environment. Its desirability to Benjamin Chew was further enhanced by the fact that his friend and colleague Chief Justice William Allen already had a country estate, "Mount Airy," just north of the town. In fact, the Chews spent the summer of 1763 at "Mount Airy" while Allen was in England:

> I hope you and your good family have spent your time agreeably at Mount Airy this summer.[3]

> It gives me great pleasure to hear that your abode there contributed to your health and that you are like to build and be my neighbor.[4]

The parcel of land Penington offered was long and narrow like most Germantown lots. Fronting on the "Great Road" (now Germantown Avenue) and extending to "Division" (now Chew Street), it was about 170 feet wide (roughly half the width of the present park) with the current Johnson Street as its southeast boundary. (Fig. 3). Rising gradually from the "Great Road" to crest about one-quarter of the depth of the lot and then falling away sharply at the rear, the contour of the land offered the ideal site for Chew's proposed country seat. As John Barge's 1754 advertisement for the same land pointed out, the property commanded a splendid view: "There is a beautiful prospect...to the Jerseys, and down the River Delaware, its situation being the highest in Germantown."[5] The property, as Barge pointed out, also had "an orchard of about 4 acres of choice grafted fruit

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[2] Information on the construction of the house is based on material included in the Historic Structures Report [hereafter HSR] prepared by Martin Jay Rosenblum, R. A., & Associates (1992).

[3] Letter from William Allen (London) to Benjamin Chew (Philadelphia), October 7, 1763. David A. Kimball and Marion Quinn, "William Allen-Benjamin Chew Correspondence, 1763-1764," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography [PMHB]*, 90 (April 1966), p. 213.

[4] Letter from William Allen (London) to Benjamin Chew (Philadelphia), January 27, 1764. Quoted in Kimball and Quinn, *PMHB*, 90 (April 1966), p. 221.

[5] John Barge advertised the sale of lot in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 29, 1754.

trees, some woodland, and a small meadow, watered on each side, the soil of the whole exceeding good."[6] These features made the parcel even more attractive. Chew bought the land on July 14, 1763 from Edward Penington and his wife for £650.

Developing plans for the proposed country house was Chew's first challenge. He had memories of the country estates he had seen in England and such local examples as "Mount Pleasant" to assist in the process. Most houses were built from plans drawn by either master builders or "amateur architects" among the local gentry. Chew apparently relied on the talents of William Peters, a fellow attorney and Penn family official skilled in architectural design, for this service.[7] Over the summer Chew and Peters consulted on designs for the house based in part on plates in Abraham Swan's *A Collection of Designs in Architecture* (1757). A set of nine drawings—floor plans and elevation—chart various ideas considered.

As built, the house represented yet another design solution. The two-and-a-half-story high, five-bay facade of ashlar (or "dressed" stone) has a projecting pedimented center bay with an elaborate Doric frontispiece or entrance. (Fig. 4). A light-colored cut-stone string course and jack arches above the windows contrast with the gray Wissahickon schist.[8] The gable ends and rear wall are of rubble stone (called "common wall") construction. The west wall was covered with gray stucco scored to imitate ashlar. The other walls were unstuccoed. Inside, the first floor plan (Fig. 5) features a T-shaped hall with a vista to a door at the back of the house. At the front is a large lateral entrance hall flanked by small rooms. It is separated from the stair hall beyond by a screen of columns. On the right side of the stair hall is a large "parlor," as first floor rooms were called in the eighteenth century; later generations of the family identified this room as the drawing room. On the left is the service stair and a smaller "parlor." The second floor (Fig. 6) has a more traditional center hall plan. The hall runs the depth of the house. On the right are two unequal size "chambers," as second floor rooms were identified; on the other are two "chambers" separated by the service stair.

Behind the main block Chew planned flanking, two-story, square dependencies constructed of the same "common wall" as the gable ends and rear of the house. The building on the left was the kitchen; the one on the right was identified later as the "wash house."

By early October 1763, the plans had reached the stage where Chew could begin to hire craftsmen. His accounts for the project show that he engaged both Germantown and Philadelphia artisans and purchased materials from vendors in both locations. Primary responsibility for construction fell to two well-known Germantown artisans—John Hesser, the master mason, and Jacob Knor, the master carpenter. The primary structural materials (stone and framing timbers) and a good deal of the non-decorative ironwork also came from

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[6] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 29, 1754.

[7] For further information on the activities of Benjamin Chew and William Peters see HSR, p. __.

[8] "Germantown schist" is one name for a high-mica-content stone found in the Wissahickon Valley and widely used in local construction.

Germantown sources. Precisely where Hesser obtained the stone is unknown, although the lack of payment for hauling suggests that it was not carted very far. Albert Gilbert supplied the large framing timbers, joists, and "scantling" (framing studs) from his Germantown mill and local blacksmith Christopher Hargasheimer provided most of the common iron hardware. Chew chose Philadelphia craftsmen for most of the decorative detailing. Casper Guyer supplied cut stonework door sills, window heads, and string course fascia. The finish lumber for the interior came from a variety of Philadelphia suppliers. William Rush made most of the finish iron hardware (hinges, locks, etc.) for the house. Master wood carvers Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez fabricated the special ornamental architectural trim for the large parlor.

Chew's detailed records provide an almost monthly synopsis of progress on the project. His first contract, signed in October 1763, was with master mason John Hesser. During the fall, Hesser began assembling the stone and the wood scaffolding necessary for his part of the construction. By early 1764 Chew had engaged Jacob Knor as master carpenter. The first order for framing lumber was placed in February with Anthony Gilbert of Germantown. This allowed time for the heavy timbers to dry thoroughly before Knor needed them.

Actual construction began in April 1764 when the ground had thawed enough to be worked. Hesser laid out the outline of the house on the site and his crew of five or six men started excavating for the foundations and cellars of the house and the dependencies. By the first week in May, this work was finished and Hesser started laying the stone foundation of the house. By mid-May the cellar was under construction and Germantown blacksmith Christopher Hargasheimer delivered the first of the common hardware (door pintles, hasps, and eyes for a kitchen fireplace crane) for installation in the cellar walls. The first of the ornamental stonework—heads for the cellar windows and the front door sill—arrived from Philadelphia stonecutter Casper Guyer in late May. Guyer's deliveries of cut stone in early-July and in mid-August parallel Hesser's progress on the walls.

By the middle of July, Hesser had laid the stonework up to the first floor. Masonry work reached the second floor in mid-August. By late September, when the deliveries of lime for mortar stopped, Hesser had completed the walls of the mansion house and the two dependencies. The process of framing-in closely paralleled that of the stone work. Knor began work on the first floor in mid-July and by mid-August had progressed to the second floor. The pace of construction was unusually good because, as a practical matter, both craftsmen wished to complete the basic structural work before bad weather brought construction to a halt.

By year's end Hesser's work on the mansion house and the dependencies was finished. Knor had finished framing the mansion, installed the 10,000 shingles received from Levi Budd in September, capped the pedestals on the roof that would hold the stone urns, and ordered the lumber for the frontispiece. Eden Haydock, a Philadelphia plumber, had installed the front gutter and two conductor heads and down spouts as part of the drainage system for the house. Philip Warner probably had even completed a major part of the exterior painting.

It was Chew's habit to pay both the master craftsmen and the suppliers of materials in periodic round sums as the work progressed. Final payment came when the work was completed and an itemized bill had been presented. In January 1765, Chew settled his account with Hesser paying a total of almost £358 for masonry. He

also paid Caspar Johnson's bill for lime and bills for lumber, lath, and shingles from Anthony Gilbert and Saltar Britton & Co. In March Chew reimbursed Eden Haydock for the drainage system. That same month Casper Guyer submitted his final bill for the cut stonework. Chew paid the £12.13.6 outstanding on a total bill of more than £92 noting on the bill: "Jacob Lewis says this account is most extortionate, that I have paid him [Guyer] already more than is just & he is entitled to, & advises me to pay no more."[9]

Work on the site stopped during the winter months, but Jacob Knor remained busy at his shop at Germantown Road and Washington Lane, a few blocks below Cliveden. During the winter he rough cut the balusters for the staircase, which he hauled to a turner in March, and the columns for the front hall, which went to the turner in May. Knor and the carpenters resumed work in the house in April. As Anthony Gilbert delivered additional scantling, they framed in the wood partitions and started laying the first of the laths for plastering. Throughout the spring and summer and into the fall, they continued the interior structural work, laying the wall and ceiling lath, and milling and installing the interior trim in the main house. Part of their time also was spent fitting out the interior of the two square dependencies.

In May and again in August 1765, Germantown blacksmith Christopher Hargasheimer delivered a variety of building hardware including some of the fittings for a well and for a kitchen fireplace. The first of the interior fittings (interior shutter and door hinges, locks, and latches) ordered from Philadelphia blacksmith William Rush arrived during the summer. Other deliveries from Rush followed until the end of the construction season.

Most of the door and window casings, chair rails, and cornices were installed by October when Philadelphia plasterers Samuel Hastings and David Cauthorn began their work. Plastering continued over the winter and into the spring with Chew providing fire wood and rum to keep the artisans comfortable. Normally Philip Warner would have primed the woodwork prior to plastering, but Chew's records show that Warner did not begin painting the interior until late October or early November. By mid-December, all the architectural trim had been primed and at least part of the woodwork also had the first of two finish coats of paint.

While the carpenters and plasterers continued their work in the house, Hesser and his masons began building an addition to the kitchen dependency, already thought to be too small. They also started work on a stable and coach house located northwest of the mansion on land that was not part of Chew's original purchase from Penington. (Fig. 7). The four-acre stable lot, joining Chew's land on the west and running to the present Cliveden Street, extended from the Great Road (Germantown Avenue) to a line between the present Morton and Magnolia Streets. Chew acquired the parcel from Richard Johnson sometime early in 1765, although title was not transferred until early October.

Chew paid Hesser the first advance on the stable masonry in May with subsequent payments through November. After excavating for the foundation, the masonry work proceeded quickly. In June, Charles Hubbs

[9] Caspar Guyer's account with Benjamin Chew for stonecutting for Cliveden, from May 1764 to March 1765. Xerox copy of original document in Cliveden files [hereafter CLIV, Doc.]. CLIV, Doc. II 121.

supplied stone sills for the stable and at the same time furnished the stone steps and sills for the mansion house and the dependencies. The scantling for the stable arrived during the summer allowing Jacob Knor to frame-in the building by fall. Christopher Hargasheimer delivered the first of the stable hardware in August. A new well was dug about this time probably near the stable. By year's end, the exterior of the stable was complete and the building had been roofed.

Over the winter, the plasterers completed their work in the house and the dependencies. At his workshop, Knor fabricated the pediments and window and door surrounds (architraves) for the entrance hall and the rooms on the right side of the first floor. In January and April 1766, Philadelphia master carvers Nicholas Bernard and Martin Jugiez delivered the ornamental trusses and enriched fireplace moldings for the large parlor. By July Knor had finished all the interior carpentry work except the columns for the entrance hall which did not go up until December. He also finished the carpentry work in the stable. Painter Philip Warner resumed work on the interior in April. By year's end he had applied the final finish coat to all the woodwork except the graining of the stair hall which he completed in 1767.

Sometime during 1766 Chew ordered seven large limestone urns to ornament the roof of the house. Responding to drawings of the various available options, in December he instructed his friend, William Fisher:

> Sir. I have shown the patterns of the urns sent over by Mr. Pennington to the knowing ones among us and have fixed on No. 2 only that it is to have little or no carved work as most suitable to the plainess *[sic]* of my building. I shall be much obliged to you therefore to forward the inclosed *[sic]* by the ship now sailing for London & press him to use his kind endeavors to have them finished as soon as possible and sent over early in the spring when I shall want to set them up.[10]

The urns did not arrive until September 1767. They were carted to Cliveden in mid-November and by the end of the month five of them were set in place. For some unknown reason Chew never installed the urns intended for the rear corners of the house.

While most of the activity at Cliveden between 1763 and 1767 centered on the construction of buildings, Chew had plans for the grounds as well. The estate already boasted an orchard, a garden, and a nursery. Given the importance Chew placed on a garden, it seems likely that his gardener would have assessed these features soon after the land was purchased. Unfortunately no document details their discussions or the plans they formed. The first signs of garden-related activity appeared in April 1766 with the purchase of cedar posts and rails for perimeter fencing and the delivery of the first of several loads of dung. Two months later Chew bought "board fencing," the type normally used to enclose an ornamental garden, from John Nise. Jacob Knor built and installed gates and fences that redefined the landscape. In June 1766 he made a new gate into the garden area, moved some existing fencing, and installed a new gate at the street. The following year he supplied eighteen panels of board fence and two gates, moved and repaired an old fence (at the well), and made a gate in the back

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[10] Letter from Benjamin Chew to William Fisher (Philadelphia), December 12, 1766. Historical Society of Pennsylvania [hereafter HSP], Chew Papers, Box 4.

garden fence.

During construction the Chews maintained their pattern of summering in rented quarters in Germantown. Chew's records give no clue to the amount of time he or Mrs. Chew spent at Cliveden although it seems reasonable to assume that curiosity over the progress would have brought family members to the site from time to time. Chew's financial investment in the project was, by eighteenth century standards, enormous. By 1767 he had spent about £3436 on the various buildings and £852 for the two parcels of land. The final cost of his country seat was £4718.12.3 including about £1000 for the land. As construction was winding down in 1766, Chew prudently sent some of his staff out to Cliveden to tend the property over the winter. Jacob Knor's bill for services in 1766 records making a variety of tables and stands as well as mending chairs and other pieces of furniture. The relatively low value of this furniture is consistent with its use by staff rather than family.

II: Occupying the Summer Retreat

BENJAMIN CHEW AND HIS FAMILY AT CLIVEDEN, 1768-1779

Cliveden was ready for family occupancy by the summer of 1767 although there were still workmen on the site. It is possible that Benjamin Chew spent an occasional night there that year. The birth of Elizabeth (Oswald) Chew's fourth child in August 1767 makes it more likely that the entire family did not summer there until the following year.

The actual amount of time the family spent at Cliveden in the early years is not clear. Chew's law practice and the activities associated with his various political offices made his continuous stay in Germantown unrealistic. The rest of the family probably spent much of the summer there with Mrs. Chew coming to the city from time to time.

By 1768 Chew's immediate family numbered ten with his eldest daughter recently married. Caring for such a large family (that by 1776 would increase to thirteen with two daughters married) required a sizable support staff. The efficient operation of a house the size of Cliveden entailed a minimum of five people: a cook, at least one maid, a manservant/ waiter (who might also double as outside help when needed), a laundress, and a nurse to care for the younger children. Added to the domestic staff were the regular outside staff of a gardener and coachmen. Chew's records for this early period make it clear that his "household" included both indentured servants and slaves.

Among Philadelphians of the day Chew was not unique in owning slaves. Before the passage of the Pennsylvania Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery in 1780, some wealthy, non-Quaker Philadelphians, including Chew, numbered slaves among their household staffs.[11] Chew differed from his contemporaries both in the number of slaves he owned in Philadelphia and in the length of time he continued to have slaves in his household.[12] As late as 1806, Chew paid a direct tax on two slaves in the city. His will, drawn in 1806, lists a number of slaves still in his possession: George (46 or 47), Jesse, Harry (about 32), Sarah (about 54 or 56) with her children, and David (a boy "who was to be free at twenty-eight years of age"). According to the 1810 census, Chew had seven free blacks in his household at the time of his death.

While there is no precise count of the people working for him in the late 1760s, a reasonable figure would be about a dozen; by 1778, that number had increased to sixteen.[13] Relatively few of his staff are identified

[11] This act required all persons owning slaves in Pennsylvania to free them within twenty years or by the time each slave reached the age of twenty-eight. Chew circumvented this regulation by sending the women of child-bearing age and the young men to his estates in Maryland.

[12] In 1747, Chew inherited several of the fifty-four slaves in his mother's estate. He purchased his personal manservant, Will, in the Caribbean in 1772 at a value of £75.

[13] The accounts for 1778 kept by Benjamin Chew, Jr., list: Robert Burnett, gardener; William Stewart, coachman; Mrs. Furman, children's nurse; Fan, maid; Jenny; Nelly; David; and Cyrus. There were three occasional hires who worked for the family on a regular basis: Betsy, seamstress, and Betty and Katy, washwomen. There were five slaves: Will, Chew's

by name although his records for 1776 do mention Robert Burnett (gardener), William Stewart (coachman), Hannah (a cook), Betty (the wash woman), John Badger (an English servant), Will (a slave and Chew's personal servant), Will's wife Dinah, and their children.

Because the Chews expected their summer home to operate in the same efficient manner as their residence in town, most of the servants accompanied them when the family moved to the country in June or July. A skeleton staff remained behind to protect the town house and to provide routine services when family members came to the city for business or pleasure. When the family returned to Philadelphia in September or October, the process was reversed with some staff remaining at Cliveden over the winter to act as caretakers.

Opening Cliveden for the summer in the 1760s and 1770s was a complicated procedure. The domestic staff formed the advance party in this annual ritual, probably travelling out from town by commercial coach. Their first tasks were to clean and air the house and put it in order. Records show that, with the possible exception of 22 yards of painted floor cloth supplied by Philip Warner, Chew bought no new furnishings specifically for his country house. All the necessary furniture, linens, china and glassware, flatware and serving pieces, cooking utensils, and fireplace equipment would have come from the house in town. If the pattern of other Philadelphia families is indicative, the required items were carted out to Cliveden and arranged in advance of the family's arrival. (The family's practice of transferring furnishings between these two residences is well documented for the early nineteenth century.) Since Cliveden was a summer retreat and not the scene of the same high profile entertaining as their primary residence in town, Chew probably sent the "good" furniture rather than his best, although the other furnishings would have been those items in daily use.

The family journeyed out in Chew's fine carriage and probably a hired vehicle as well. The two-hour drive must have seemed interminable especially if forced to drive "through the clouds and whirlwinds [of dust]"[14] as Mrs. Chew described a subsequent trip.

The first view of the property came while driving up the Great Road from the center of Germantown. High on a hill to the right was the large, gray, stone house with its shingled roof painted gray to imitate slate, yellow-gray trim (cornice, door and window frames, and frontispiece) and shutters, and brown door. An English friend called it "your Enchanted Castle,...one of the finest houses in the Province."[15] Today Cliveden is still cited as one of the outstanding examples of Philadelphia Georgian architecture.

Entrance to the property was through a gate and up a straight drive following the western property line of the original land parcel. The land in front of the house was divided into field and garden. Behind the house

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man servant; Dinah, Will's wife; Priscilla; Aaron, from Maryland; and Abram, who died in service.

[14] Letter from Elizabeth Chew ("Cliffden") to Benjamin Chew (in New Jersey), September 11, 1768. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 2

[15] Letter from L. S. Ourry (Hammersmith, England) to Benjamin Chew (Philadelphia), June 3, 1767. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 2.

were the kitchen and wash house dependencies. And beyond them, possibly at the crest of the hill, was another garden with a frame "summer house." To the left of the drive below the brow of the hill was the coach house and stable built to accommodate Chew's carriage and phaeton and at least four horses. The remainder of the land was meadow, orchard, and woodland.

A 1780 medal commemorating the Revolutionary War battle on the site depicts the landscape as it probably was in the late 1760s and 1770s (Fig. 8). On the left side of the drive was a large field that ran from the Great Road to the stable. Enclosed with post and rail fence, it was planted in grain or hay. The land to the right of the drive was divided into two sections. That closest to the eastern property line was another field with post and rail fence. Between these was a reverse L-shaped plot with a tight, probably board, fence on three sides. The plant material in this field was not the same as that in the others. Immediately in front of the house was an open terraced section. No ornamental or "pleasure" gardens are visible in the medal. Probably they were at the rear of the house.

Behind the tall front doors of the house were a mix of "public" and "private" areas. The knowledgeable observer easily recognized the distinction by the quality of the interior architectural trim because, as a general rule, public or social spaces had more elaborate millwork. In country houses, the rooms on the first floor were used for public entertaining; those on the floor above were family areas. At Cliveden, the rooms on the east (or Johnson Street) side of the house have more elaborate architectural millwork than those on the west. In a departure from normal practice, even the chambers on the east side of the second floor are better trimmed than the small room (dining room) on the west side of the first floor.[16]

All the rooms shared unfinished yellow pine floors. The walls and ceilings throughout the house were of unpainted plaster. (There is evidence that the large parlor was wallpapered, but whether it was part of the original decoration or installed after the house was damaged in 1777 can not be determined at present). In most of the rooms, the woodwork was painted light gray-green. The large room to the left of the stair hall and the service hall adjacent to it (both non-public spaces) were painted yellow ocher. The paneling in the stair hall was grained, a treatment popular in Philadelphia in the 1760s. The inside of the front and rear hall doors and the tops of the chair rails had similar graining. The rooms on the second floor repeated the pattern of gray-green trim with unpainted plaster walls and ceilings. Analysis of the paint layers reveals that the woodwork in the small room to the right of the entrance hall was repainted green and the front chamber on the east side was painted green, gray, and then blue within a short time.[17]

While Chew failed to identify the various rooms in any contemporary document beyond the traditional designations by location, the function of some rooms is obvious. The large parlor and the entrance and stair halls

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[16] See HSR.

[17] The paint colors were analyzed in 1975 by Frank S. Welsh after the house was acquired by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Welsh provided a second more comprehensive analysis of the paints as part of the 1992 HSR.

were social spaces. The smaller parlor with its door to the detached kitchen probably served as the family dining room. The enclosed stair, later identified as the "back entry," ran from the cellar to the garret and provided passage for the servants as they went about their duties removed from family activities. The specific use of the two small rooms at the front of the house is less clear. Later documents refer to them as the east and west "offices." Only the room on the right (east side) was heated, suggesting its possible social use as a withdrawing room. The room opposite has no source of heat and may simply have been a service space when Benjamin Chew and his family first occupied the house.

On the second floor, the broad hallway could be used as a relaxed sitting area where Mrs. Chew could entertain friends and family as well as a supervised play area for the children. The three heated chambers served as sleeping accommodations for family and for the occasional visitor. The small unheated chamber on the southwest corner in front of the service stair probably functioned as a service area. The garret may have housed some of the older children and possibly those servants with special duties in the house such as the nurse and personal attendants.

Mrs. Chew had overall responsibility for the efficient and economical management of the house through her daily supervision of the servants in a structured pattern of domestic chores. Hers was the task of balancing family need against servants' routines. The older girls probably shared some of these responsibilities as part of learning to run their own establishments.

Domestic servants generally worked long hours, seven days a week, for relatively modest wages. Their work was physically demanding. They were clothed, fed, and housed, but had little privacy. Whatever social life they enjoyed in town was limited in the country.

The particular duties of each category of domestics (cook, maid, waiter, attendant, wash woman, nurse) and those who worked outside (gardener and coachman) were fairly straightforward. Those working in the public areas of the house were expected to complete their tasks without disrupting family activities. Casual workers were hired as needed. Chimney sweeps came at least once a year to clean the flues while men were hired to saw cord wood as needed.

Only in the area of estate management was there unusual activity. About four acres of Chew's fifteen-acre estate was orchard; the rest was field, garden, and "woodland." Although the remaining property was not large enough to be farmed in any economical fashion, Chew did keep a few cows (which grazed on rented pasture) and some chickens. His woodland apparently did not yield enough timber for cooking and heating and he was forced to purchase cord wood for both Cliveden and his house in town.

In the decade between the completion of the house and the Revolutionary War, Jacob Knor provided a variety of carpentry services related to the garden and farm. He built a frame for a hot bed and the shutters to cover it, made strips and posts for raspberry bushes, built a hen house, and moved and repaired the "summer house." Most surprising were his charges, on at least two occasions, for "boxes" made for an orange tree. Orange trees were not yet common in Philadelphia and sustaining one for any period of time generally indicated the

presence of some sort of greenhouse although there is no documentary evidence to confirm such a structure either at Cliveden or in town. As a practical matter, one wonders what happened to the orange tree over the winter. Deliveries of large quantities of dung in the early 1770s indicate considerable garden or farm-related activity.

Even though major construction on the house was finished by 1767, there were improvements and alterations in the decade that followed. Knor added gutters and spouts to the rear of the house in 1769. The following year, Philadelphia stonecutter Alexander Crawford replaced the original front steps of the mansion with new stone steps costing £70. 1771 saw another well dug and the repair of the two marble lions that still grace the entrance of the house. Philip Warner repainted portions of the house in 1773. (Perhaps this was when the color changes were made in the front parlor and front chamber on the east side of the house). That same year, there was carpentry work done on the stable and the coach house and the stable yard was paved.

The major project of the decade was the construction, in 1776 and 1777, of the colonnade connecting the mansion with the kitchen dependency. Chew again chose John Hesser as mason, Jacob Knor as carpenter, and Saltar, Britton & Co. to provide the lumber. By the end of the year, the masonry was complete and the structure roofed but not plastered or floored. This work probably was completed early the following year when the final bills were submitted. Chew calculated that the colonnade cost £130.

In August 1776 Chew bought a third piece of land from Thomas and Anne (Johnson) Nedrow for £150. Located immediately behind the Johnson parcel, the three and three-quarters acres further extended his property to the present Musgrave Street. (Fig. 9). This purchase completed Chew's improvements to the estate before the Revolution.

What type of activities engaged the family during those first summers at Cliveden is something of a mystery. There is some evidence of entertaining, but most of the visitors were either members of the family or close friends.

Life at Cliveden probably would have continued in this established pattern had not the colonies declared their independence from Great Britain in the summer of 1776. This action placed Benjamin Chew in a very difficult position. As a signer of the non-importation agreement in 1768, he sympathized with American interests and in subsequent years met socially with several men who would become the leaders of the new government. At the same time, he owed his current position as Chief Justice of the Province of Pennsylvania, and indeed his entire political career, to the support of the Penn family. While Chew's legal acumen was respected by the new colonial authorities, his position as a representative of the proprietary (and therefore British) government called his allegiance into question.

Both sides adopted a pragmatic stance in their search for a solution. Not until British occupation of the city became a real threat, in the late summer of 1777, did the colonial government take steps to neutralize Chew's authority. On August 4th, the Executive Council of the new government issued a warrant for his arrest on grounds of protecting the public safety. When the warrant was served two days later at his home in Philadelphia,

Chew demanded to know "by what authority and for what cause" he was charged. As a lawyer, he believed that the warrant infringed on his rights as a free man; moreover, it violated the first principle of justice by prejudging him unheard. This, as he later recorded in notes concerning his arrest, "struck at the liberties of everyone in the community and [he believed] it was his duty to oppose it and check it, if possible, in its infancy."[18]

During the next ten days, Chew had several opportunities to sign a parole indicating his intent to adopt a neutral position, but he refused to do this on the same legal grounds as he protested his arrest. By mid-August, this option disappeared and he was placed under house arrest. Initially, the American government planned to confine him at Cliveden, restricting his travel to a six mile radius from that point but "not to come closer than four miles to the City of Philadelphia." After several different sites were proposed, Chew and Governor John Penn finally were confined at Union Forge, Joseph Turner's iron works in New Jersey. They remained there until the following June when, after the British withdrawal from the city, they returned to Philadelphia.

In her husband's absence, Elizabeth Oswald Chew tried to maintain some semblance of normality. Using the family's town house on South Third Street as their base, the Chew ladies continued their established pattern of socializing. Since they thought of themselves as colonial British, their contact with British officers and Tory sympathizers was to be expected. They exchanged visits, took tea, dined, and attended a variety of public social functions with other members in their socio-economic group.

The most important social event in Philadelphia during the Revolution was the "Mischianza," a farewell fete honoring General Sir William Howe before his scheduled return to London. Organized by a group of British officers led by Major John André, it was held at Walnut Grove on May 18, 1778, with some of the city's most attractive and most prominent young ladies in attendance. Two of the Chew girls were present. Seventeen-year-old Peggy was escorted by Major André and her step-sister Sarah (25) came with Lieutenant Hobart. The event included a procession of decorated water craft moving along the waterfront, a mock tournament of medieval knights, an elaborate banquet, cards, dancing, and a colorful display of fireworks.[19] On June 2, 1778, André sent Peggy a commemorative description of the event (Fig. 10).

Chew's arrest placed the fate of Cliveden in jeopardy especially after British troops occupied Philadelphia late in September 1777. The family had returned from the country earlier than usual leaving the gardener in residence as a caretaker. Chew's concerns about the safety of the house may have been partially allayed by a note from his son written September 15, 1777:

> As our Army are in the Neighborhood of Germantown, Tenny Tilghman [Washington's aide-de-camp Tench Tilghman] has kindly sent to my Mother acquainting her that he will procure an officer of rank to take possession of Cliveden though I should not imagine that any of the

[18] CLIV, Doc. X 283-284.

[19] For a description of the activities see John W. Jackson, *With the British Army in Philadelphia 1777-1778*, (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1979), pp. 235-249.

> private soldiery would be quartered there as my Mother has procurred *[sic]* a Protection for the House and Place from the Board of War.[20]

Tilghman's promise went unfulfilled because, by the end of the month, British troops not only occupied Philadelphia but had set up several outposts beyond the city proper. Cliveden's strategic location at the high point in Germantown on one of the main roads into the city made it an ideal observation post.

On the morning of the Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777, six companies of the British 40th Regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas Musgrave were bivouacked in the orchard behind Cliveden as the Continental army advanced in four columns on Philadelphia from Skippack.[21] In the unusually heavy fog that morning, the advance party of the column coming down the Great Road from Chestnut Hill exchanged shots with a group of British pickets about a mile above Cliveden. As the pickets fell back to join Musgrave's 40th Regiment at the house, the American advance unit followed, rushing past Cliveden in the fog. Colonel Musgrave, realizing that his troops were cut off from the main British line, ordered some of his men into the mansion. Closing the first floor shutters and barricading the doors, he posted marksmen at the windows on the second and third floors. The pursuing Americans soon realized that they were between Musgrave's companies at Cliveden and the main British forces near Market Square. Fearing that they would be cut off from support, the Americans fell back towards the main body of their column. Reluctant to leave such a fortress as Cliveden in British hands, the Americans tried to capture the mansion. In the ensuing battle, neither their cannon nor efforts to burn the house were successful. They retired up Skippack Pike to their previous camp at the Peter Wentz farm. Eventually the American forces retired to spend the winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge while the British remained in Philadelphia until mid-June 1778.

As an historical event, the Battle of Germantown engaged people's imagination. The scene has been depicted several times. Probably the most accurate representation is the large oil painting at Cliveden painted about 1800 by an unknown British artist (Fig. 11). One of the most charming written accounts passed down in the Chew family and was reported by Benjamin Chew's great, great grandson William Brooks Rawle in 1899:

> At the period of the battle the family was away, but `Cliveden' was left in the charge of the gardener. At least one other person (if not more) was left there——a dairy maid, who of course with her pink cheeks and other fascinations was a beauty, as all such are. When the red coats took possession of the house, the dairy maid was much pleased and did not resent the tender familiarities of the soldiers. Seeing this the gardener, who also admired her, remonstrated with her, but without effect and a `tiff' was the result. When the musketry fire began, he said to her that the safest place for her was the cellar and told her to go there; but this she refused to do. They were standing at the head of the stairway to the cellar, quarreling, when a cannon ball came in through one of the windows, crashed through some plaster and woodwork, causing a

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[20] HSP, Chew Papers, Box 2.

[21] For more complete description of the Battle at Cliveden, see David G. Martin, *The Philadelphia Campaign June 1777 - July 1778*, (Conshohocken, PA: Combined Books, Inc., 1993), pp. 99-117; also forthcoming book by Thomas F. McGuire, *The Surprise of Germantown or the Battle at Cliveden October 4, 1777.*

> great commotion; whereupon the gardener, without further argument, gave the dairy maid a push, sending her tumbling down the stairs, and then lock[ed] the door upon her. There she had to remain, during the entire battle, in safety, though without the attentions of her [red] coated admirers. What became of the gardener, and where he hid, as he probably did, is not related.[22]

There are several other written accounts of the Battle. Some are contemporary; others, recorded in the 1830s, are based on the memories of people who witnessed the battle or visited Cliveden shortly afterwards. All agree that the mansion house was damaged by cannon and musket fire. What remains unresolved is the extent of the damage. Estimates vary. Antiquarian John Fanning Watson reported in his *Annals of Philadelphia* (1887 edition) that "...Chew's house was so battered that it took five carpenters a whole winter to repair and replace the fractures. The front door which was replaced was filled with shot holes...."[23] But in a letter to his father in October 1777, Benjamin Jr. wrote: "I have gathered strength enough to ride to Cliveden the damage of which will be no doubt exaggerated to you by the several reports you may hear of the late action."[24]

Some resolution to the question was gleaned from the physical examination of the structure undertaken as part of the 1992 Historic Structures Report. It revealed that the front door and most of the window sash were replaced, probably as a direct result of damage sustained during the battle. The status of the exterior shutters is less clear although many appear to contain some original elements. There were also repairs to the stucco and to the interior plaster attributable to the same source. Unfortunately, there is scant documentary evidence in the form of workmen's bills for confirmation. However, by April 1778, Benjamin Jr. could advise his father that the property, if not the house, was ready for use:

> I believe I acquainted you in my last [letter] having disposed of Cliveden for the ensuing summer, the terms I am told are very advantageous. The outside fencing is now complete, Mr. West of Whitemarsh has been very kind in endeavoring to secure it and has frequently visited....[25]

By late spring the tenor of the war was changing. With the British about to leave the city, Benjamin Chew petitioned the American government for release from house arrest in New Jersey. His request was granted and he returned to Philadelphia in June 1778. As a practical man, he decided to maintain a low political profile for the duration of the war thus avoiding the perception of possible support for the British cause. In the fall of 1779 he rented his town house to the Spanish Ambassador, Don Juan de Miralles, and, in political self-exile,

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[22] Typed letter from William Brooks Rawle (Philadelphia) to Charles F. Jenkins, November 25, 1899. HSP, Autograph Collection, Rawle Papers.

[23] John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*, (Philadelphia: Edwin S. Stuart, 1887), Vol. II, p. 37.

[24] Letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr. (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Chew (Union Forge, NJ), [October or November] 1777. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 2.

[25] Letter from Benjamin Chew Jr. (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Chew (Union Forge, NJ), April 21, 1778. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 3.

moved his family to "Whitehall," the family plantation near Dover, Delaware. Just before that move, on September 3, 1779, he completed the sale of the Cliveden house and property to Blair McClenachan for £2500. Terms of the sale also included a mortgage of £3400, to be discounted at 50% if McClenachan made payments of £850 at Amsterdam in 1780 and again in 1781 (total £1700).[26] Chew realized considerably less cash in the sale than the £4718 he had invested in the estate. At the same time, by arranging for payments in a neutral country, the pragmatic lawyer protected part of his capital against the uncertainties of the War.

[26] Copy of mortgage. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 248.

III: Out of Family Hands

OWNERSHIP BY BLAIR MCCLENACHAN, 1779-1797

Blair McClenachan (d. 1812) is the most elusive of Cliveden's owners (Fig. 12). Born in Ireland, he came to Philadelphia sometime before 1763, the year he married Ann Derragh. A merchant by profession, McClenachan made his sizable fortune outfitting privateers during the Revolution. His fortune allowed him to speculate in land investments in and around Philadelphia. His holdings included a number of city properties as well as land in the Northern Liberties, Germantown, Lancaster County, and Northumberland County. He also owned "Mount Pleasant" briefly. McClenachan was a subscriber and director of the Bank of Pennsylvania. In 1780 he and Robert Morris each advanced £10,000 to the total subscription of £300,000 for the Bank.[27] Like other wealthy men of his day, McClenachan had political aspirations. A Republican whose sympathies, in the 1790s, were with France, he headed the Gallic Party in Philadelphia and was President of the Democratic Society. He served in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives (1790-1797) and the U. S. House of Representatives (1797-1799).

Blair McClenachan's primary residence was in Philadelphia. During the 1780s, he used Cliveden as a summer retreat. By 1790 he had suffered some economic reverses. He moved his family (wife, daughters, and his unmarried sister) out to Cliveden while he began selling off his land investments. Cliveden was one of the last pieces of property to be sold.

During the time McClenachan owned Cliveden, he must have entertained visitors there but contemporary documents identify only two prominent guests. An unnamed English translator of the Marquis de Chastellux's *Travels in North America* described his visit to Cliveden in 1782:

> I visited and passed a very agreeable day at this celebrated Stone-house, so bravely, and judiciously defended by Col. Musgrove *[sic]*, and saw many marks of canon *[sic]* and musquet [musket] shot in the walls, doors, and shutters, besides two or three mutilated statues which stood in front of it. It is a plain gentleman's country-house, with four windows in front, and two stories high, calculated for a small family, and stands single, and detached from every other building, so that defended as it was by six companies, commanded by so gallant an officer, it was calculated to make a long resistance against everything but heavy cannon.... The house formerly belonged to Mr. Chew...and was purchased by Mr. Blair McClenaghan *[sic]*, who from a very small beginning, has, by his industry, fairly and honorably acquired a very considerable fortune.[28]

McClenachan's other honored guest was George Washington who visited the estate on August 19, 1787 after a trip with Samuel Powel to the former American army encampment at Whitemarsh. On the way back they "dined

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[27] John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: Edwin Stuart, 1887), Vol. I, p. 475.

[28] Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in 1780, 1781, and 1782*, (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1787) Vol I, pp. 210-211.

at Germantown, visited Mr. Blair McClenagan [sic], drank Tea at Mr Peter's and returned to Philadelphia in the evening."[29]

During the years McClenachan owned Cliveden, there is no documentary evidence that he made any significant modifications to the house or the adjacent dependencies. Like Chew, he was concerned with maintaining the property. In March 1784 he placed the following advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*:

> Wanted, to hire by the year, A Person who is well acquainted with taking care of a garden, and who knows a little of the farming business. Such person should he prove capable will receive handsome wages, by applying to Mr Blair M'Clenachan.[30]

A nearly identical advertisement appeared the following year minus McClenachan's name.

McClenachan's primary contribution to the development of Cliveden was the acquisition of more than twenty-six additional acres which he bought from Matthew Raser on April 28, 1789 for £725. (Fig. 13). This parcel joined the existing property on the northwest. Like the original Penington lot, it extended from the Great Road (Germantown Avenue) to Division (Chew Street) between the present Cliveden and Upsal Streets and incorporated the piece beyond the land bought from Thomas Nedrow. McClenachan's purchase effectively doubled the land he had acquired from Chew in 1779.

McClenachan's financial problems reached a crisis level in the mid-1790s. After disposing of most of his other properties, in April 1797, he sold Cliveden back to Benjamin Chew for £8,500 hard currency. The price later was lowered by £100 in an adjustment over some disputed acreage.

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[29] *Diaries of George Washington 1748-1790*, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), Vol. III, p. 233.

[30] *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, March 6-20, 1784.

IV: The Family Seat Repurchased

BENJAMIN CHEW, JR. AND HIS FAMILY AT CLIVEDEN, 1797-1844

After the War, Benjamin Chew returned from his self-imposed exile and resumed his legal career. His knowledge of the law and his soundness of judgment were skills desired by the new federal government and within a very short time, the elder Chew repatriated himself within civic circles. In 1790 he accepted an appointment as the President of the High Court of Errors and Appeals of Pennsylvania. His only son, Benjamin Jr. (1758-1844) (Fig. 14), completed his legal education with a period of study at the Inns of Court in London beginning in November 1784. He returned to Philadelphia in mid-1786. He was admitted to the Pennsylvania bar the following year and began to practice law with his father and his brother-in-law, Alexander Wilcocks. Benjamin Jr. married Katherine Banning (1770-1855) of Chestertown, Maryland, in December 1789 and the two set up housekeeping in rented quarters near his parents' home.

In the summer of 1793, Philadelphia suffered another outbreak of yellow fever even more deadly than the one that had prompted the building of Cliveden. As a precaution, the family again left the city, returning only after the epidemic had passed. For the next several years, they rented summer lodgings away from the city and, acting for his father, Benjamin Jr. began the search for a permanent summer home. By early 1797 the hunt was on in earnest. On March 11th, Katherine Chew advised her husband: "Several good situations are advertised for sale & among them I believe Lenox's——this called Belle Air in the paper with 40 or 50 acres——the sale to be on Tuesday the 28th."[31] That same day the elder Chew wrote his son: "The 19½ acres on the Banks of Schuylkill advertised by Cabbot is 4½ miles from town & I believe is Mrs. Lawrence's "Fairy Hill" for which she has the modesty to ask £6000...."[32]

Interestingly, Cliveden was not among the properties offered for sale in the newspapers that year. How negotiations between Chew and McClenachan began is unknown. The only written record is a letter from the elder Chew to his son dated April 15, 1797:

> Mr. McClenachan having proposed the making of an allowance of £100 for the deficiency of 1-3/4 acres, I closed with him yesterday. Humphreys is now preparing the Deeds and they will be executed this afternoon or on Monday....[33]

The stated purchase price for the property, which included the house and dependencies and 46¼ acres of land, was £8,500 (hard currency). The agreement of sale, written five days after the deed was drawn, records the actual

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[31] Letter from Katherine Banning Chew (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (Chestertown, MD), March 11, 1797. CLIV, Doc. XI 340.

[32] Letter from Benjamin Chew (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (Chestertown, MD), March 11, 1797. CLIV, Doc. XI 340.

[33] Letter from Benjamin Chew (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (Easton, MD), April 15, 1797. CLIV, Doc. XI 338.

sale price as £8376.13.10.[34] This included £3476 from the old mortgage and two more recent notes. Chew's schedule of payments for the remaining £4900 was £3000 on April 20th, £1000 on May 15th, and the final £900 on July 19th. For his part, McClenachan agreed to pay the back ground rent including three years rent owed to the Johnsons and to turn over the property to the Chews on June 15th. As late as 1807, Chew was still trying to resolve the outstanding liens against the property incurred by McClenachan.[35]

Reacquiring Cliveden gave the Chews a safe haven from the health concerns of the city. These were so great in the 1790s that the family contemplated using the house as a full time residence, as Katherine noted in a letter to her husband on April 15th:

> With respect to Cliveden your Father writes all desired arrangements wait your return. If we make it a permanent residence I know that certain inconvenience will arise. All that may occur to myself I shall make light of so delightful will be its advantages, viz: Health, Peace & Competence! The first year no doubt may to you I fear bring some fatigue. Ever after I hope all will be made easy....[36]

While her father-in-law shared her enthusiasm for the benefits of life in Germantown, he also viewed the repurchase of the estate as something of a mixed blessing. "I have bought back Cliveden," he wrote his brother-in-law Edward Tilghman, Sr., "but it is in such dilapidated condition that it will take a small fortune to restore it."[37]

Work began almost immediately with the younger Chew supervising the activity and paying the accounts for his father. John Dixey presented the first bill for the renovations in May; he installed a new pump in the well at the ice house. George Knorr replaced his father, Jacob, as the master carpenter on the project. Peter Keyser, Joseph Gorgas, and Charles Hubbs supplied scaffolding, lumber, and roof shingles for the mansion house and Moses Hill and Co. provided the scantling for repairs to the coach house. The master mason was William Tustin who had paved a cellar for the elder Chew in 1774. He was reimbursed in August for general masonry, laying a brick pavement and mending a bake oven. Later in the year, he also installed two "open stoves" supplied by Joseph Roberts. These were modified "Franklin"-type, cast iron stoves that threw off more heat and provided better air circulation than an open fireplace. Samuel Wetherill supplied paint including white lead for house painters John and Lawrence Frank. It may have been at this time that the interior woodwork received its first coat of white paint. The Franks also painted some of the exterior trim. Their bill notes "painting black the putty

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[34] Developed from financial information in the HSR and notes from Mark Reinberger.

[35] HSP, Chew Papers, Box 248.

[36] Letter from Katherine Banning Chew (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Chew, Jr. (Easton, MD), April 15, 1797. CLIV, Doc. I 1.

[37] Letter from Benjamin Chew to Edward Tilghman, Sr. (Maryland), [May, 1979]. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 248.

of the front windows of Cliveden."[38] This detailing had the effect of making the window mullions appear thinner and more in keeping with the preferred architectural design of the Federal period. Completing the work on the exterior, Stump, a mason, pointed the chimneys.

Most of the major building repairs were finished by late 1800 when Chew settled with George Knorr. The records for this period are less detailed than those for the original construction so it is difficult to know whether there was any major new building at that time. The most complete listing of structures on the estate comes from the tax on window glass imposed in 1798. The 1798 glass tax list mentions the following buildings: the house; a two-story wash house with a one-story smoke house attached; the two-story kitchen with a one-story pantry; two stone barns, one with a cow shed; a wooden poultry (hen) house; and a wooden milk house. Other documents note the presence on the estate of an ice house, a granary, a shed at the pump in the garden, and an underground cistern system for washing.

The Chews bought very few new furnishings for the house. In 1797, Philadelphia chair maker John Letchworth supplied a set of twelve oval-back Windsor chairs for £9 ($24) which were painted at Cliveden by John and Lawrence Frank. That same year John Smith supplied a ten-plate stove and George Knorr made a large low post bedstead and a four-foot by six-foot ironing board. Possibly the high post bedstead "painted white with swelled and scalloped cornice" that Benjamin Jr. ordered from Knorr that same year was also used at Cliveden.[39] In July 1800 Philadelphia paper hanger Anthony Chardon supplied and installed wallpaper and border at Cliveden. The amount of paper in that order was sufficient to cover the parlor and possibly one of the smaller rooms on the first floor.

Even while work was in progress in 1797, fear of yellow fever brought the Chews out to Cliveden by early June and they remained there until at least late October. This pattern would be repeated in the years that followed. It was a large group in residence that summer, as Benjamin Jr. reported to friends in England the following year:

> Happily all my family are safe, having repurchased to the family a favorite seat built by my Father most healthily situated a little more than 7 miles from the City and sold by him 20 years ago. I have occupied it since the Spring of last year and it has fortunately proved an asylum for my Father, Mother, sisters, and ourselves making up the daily roll call to our different tables of 27 in number besides our visiting friends and occasional hirelings. No complaint has occurred among us but the keenness of appetite after our usual hour of meals was transgressed. ...The dear partner of my life is with me and that besides three glorious boys I am in daily expectation of the presentation of another. My Father, Mother, and my four unmarried sisters under my roof and in health, I now find abundant cause to call forth all my gratitude for the blessings I enjoy. They are manifold.[40]

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[38] Bill dated July 29, 1797. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 248.

[39] Dated January 17, 1798, Knorr's bill was for $15.33. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 248.

[40] Letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr. (Philadelphia) to Mr. and Mrs. Sylvanus Grove (England), November 1, 1798. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 72.

The eleven family members mentioned included Benjamin and Elizabeth Chew and four of their five unmarried daughters; the fifth daughter may have been visiting one of her married sisters during the summer. Also there were Benjamin Jr., his wife Katherine, and their sons Benjamin III, Samuel, and John. (Two older children—Samuel and Eliza—had died of smallpox within a month of one another in March 1795.) There also were sixteen servants in residence including gardener James Moor; coachmen Stephen Trusty, John Wills, and Richard Young; Young's wife Anna; Polly Justison; Peggy, a nurse; Dinah, the cook; a wash woman; three unnamed slaves; and four free blacks.

In the decade following the repurchase of Cliveden, there was very little change in the pattern of general domestic activity. The necessary daily household duties continued, modified only by the number resident at any one time. Beyond that, the chimney sweeps cleaned the flues throughout the house and in the kitchen dependency at least once a year. The pumps were cleaned periodically and replaced as necessary. The ice house was cleaned and restocked annually.

In general the Chews were more a part of the Germantown community than they had been when they first owned Cliveden. An increasingly large portion of the goods and services necessary for a well-managed household were supplied locally. The names of Germantown bakers, grocers, and butchers appeared more frequently in Chew's accounts. By the late 1810s, the family had joined St. Luke's (Episcopal) Church in Germantown, paying $15 pew rent for six months a year while retaining their membership at St. Peter's Church in the city. Katherine Chew and the children attended St. Luke's regularly when they were at Cliveden; her husband's attendance was more sporadic.

The most significant change in the estate operation came in the transfer of management from the elder Chew to his son. In part, this reflected the father's advancing age and ill health. But more important, it represented a philosophical change in the use of the property. Under Benjamin Jr.'s direction, Cliveden went from being simply a summer retreat to the country seat of an active gentleman farmer.

Although Benjamin Jr. did not become a member of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture (PSPA) until 1807, he had a long-standing interest in its activities. He shared this interest with a number of local gentlemen farmers who experimented with crop rotation and fertilization to improve yield and provide the most constant employment for their farm workers. The additional acreage acquired by Blair McClenachan made this type of farming feasible. One of the farm-related activities, that first spring, was the installation of new fencing. In June, the fields already planted in hay were harvested using local Germantown labor. William Engle billed Benjamin Jr. £1.3.7½ for one day's mowing and a total of three and a half days work haying for himself and his wife. Following precedent, Chew provided rum for the local laborers hired for the second hay harvest in September. Several Germantown blacksmiths supplied a variety of necessary farm implements—spades, hoes, rakes, pitchforks, etc. Following the recommendations of George Logan and other PSPA members, Chew raised wheat and rye with turnips and potatoes for fodder. He also began a program of experimental farming using plaster of Paris and planting red clover, timothy, and orchard grass for soil enrichment. There was some

livestock—chickens, cows and eventually pigs—although this was not a major part of the farm.

By the early 1800s, the pattern of farm operation was established. James Petit (also Pettit) had been hired as gardener with a second gardener employed from time to time. Petit continued in Chew's employ until 1814-1815 when he was replaced by Henry Nickum. Under Petit's supervision, local workers hired for a week or two at a time did most of the planting and harvesting. Hay was cut in June and September; but Chew's purchase of hay, oats, and corn confirms that the available acreage did not yield sufficient feed for his horses and cattle. Given the economic repercussions of the loss of crops when his neighbor Jacob Billmeyer's cows knocked down fences and invaded his fields, his anger was clear:

> After the frequent information which I understand from my people has been communicat- ed to you of severe damage committed by your cattle to my grain and grass, I was in hopes you would as a good neighbor have prevented its repetition. ...I am informed that again today during my absence, some of your cattle renewed their injury in such a degree as to induce my men to bring two of your cows into my barn yard. It is my wish to promote harmony and good understanding between us. I therefore have directed that the cows should be turned out in the morning but it becomes now no longer to be delayed to ascertain to whom any defective part of the division fence between us may belong. I would therefore propose as a measure liberal in itself to have the whole line of fence repaired and made good at our joint expense and then you may take your choice of either half from such end as you please. Or I would propose that the division line being ascertained by a surveyor, any one, two or more of our disinterested neighbors shall proceed to examine, judge and say what is right and proper to be done between us. To one or other of these propositions I expect your answer....[41]

Billmeyer's reply is not recorded but the matter must have been resolved satisfactorily. However, maintaining division fencing and keeping cattle from migrating into his fields was a recurring issue that Chew subsequently raised with Jacob Meyer (Billmeyer?) in 1811 and three years later with Jacob Clements, his neighbor to the southeast.

While most of the agricultural activities focused on field crops and on crops grown for fodder such as turnips and potatoes, Chew also bought seeds and plant stock for the garden and orchard. The first summer of the family's return to Cliveden, Thomas Howard supplied three different kinds of unnamed garden (probably vegetable) seeds. Two years later Chew bought fruit trees and "Lombardy trees" (poplars). There is no visual documentation to know if the poplars were intended as decorative landscaping to define part of the ornamental garden.

Much of the activity in the 1810s was in the area of farm maintenance. John Stock painted, or possibly repainted, six hot-bed boxes of the type used to start seedlings for early planting. Chew restocked his orchard ordering fruit trees from Burlington, New Jersey, nurseryman William Coxe:

> From the deserved reputation of your fruit trees I wish to have 1 and ½ dozen of the best Peach Trees such as you would prefer for your own use. I would wish them of an early kind and shall take it as a particular favor if you will have the goodness to direct the nursery man to

[41] Letter from Benjamin Chew (Cliveden) to Mr. Billmeyer (Germantown), July 12, 1800. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 72.

> forward them marked for me by the earliest opportunity...I would take the liberty to add that I would prefer the trees of such an age as to be soon productive of fruit as is thereby saved.[42]

In the garden, Chew raised onions, cabbages, "asparagus roots and trees," rutabaga, scarlet and white radishes, and Black Spanish horseradish. The only reference to plant material for ornamental gardening is the purchase of tuberoses which he bought with peach trees in 1815 for $1.00.

The death of the elder Benjamin Chew on January 20, 1810, brought little perceptible change to life at Cliveden. The property was left to his only son with Elizabeth Chew retaining conditional use of the country estate for her lifetime. His widow and each of his children received a cash bequest. The amount varied from child to child with unmarried daughters receiving larger cash shares than the married girls who had already received part of their inheritance as dowry. The town house and its sizable grounds went to Elizabeth Chew for life with the stipulation that it could be sold if needed for her maintenance. Chew directed that all his other real estate and stock holdings be liquidated and the proceeds divided among his twelve children. Efforts to settle Benjamin Chew's estate would cause friction within the family for many years and would not be resolved until after his son's death.

In the early nineteenth century the family's use of Cliveden changed slightly. The success of the turnpike system made it possible to commute between the city and the country using either residence as needed. Cliveden remained essentially a vacation home. The town house, which retained a skeleton staff during the summer, remained ready to receive visitors at all times. Business brought Benjamin Jr. into the city on a regular basis, but increasingly the ladies journeyed to town for shopping or social activities leaving the younger children in the country.

Census figures for 1820 list ten persons in Benjamin Chew Jr.'s immediate family including Chew and his wife Katherine and eight of their nine surviving children. Only Henry is missing from the count; at the time he was pursuing a career in merchant shipping. The tally of servants in the census totaled thirteen including two white males, four white females, two male slaves, four free black males, and one free black female. All of Chew's family except possibly the two oldest boys—Benjamin III and Samuel—would have been at Cliveden at least part of the summer. Similarly, most of the servants would also have been in the country leaving only Anny, the cook and housekeeper, to manage the town house.

By the 1810's responsibility for the family laundry had shifted permanently to Cliveden. Gardener Henry Nickum's wife did the washing which was delivered to town by wagon at least twice a week. Her daughter Betsy assisted with whatever minor sewing was required. (Servants at Cliveden continued to wash and iron the laundry for family use in town into the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century.)

The family records offer relatively few specifics about how the mansion house was furnished in the first

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[42] Letter from Benjamin Chew (Philadelphia) to William Coxe (Burlington, NJ), March 2, 1812. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 72.

four decades of the nineteenth century. The venetian blinds, parlor wallpaper, and oval-back Windsor chairs purchased for the initial refurbishing have already been mentioned. Clearly there were other permanent furnishings at Cliveden although the family continued to send needed household items out from town for the summer. In planning for a forthcoming stay, Katherine Chew requested the following things:

> I have said nothing in my mem[orandum]: about chairs, it seems hardly worth while to move the mahogany but you know, we have ten here. All the Windsor had best come. The other East India Sofa too. It will help out the be[st] parlor. Tell Jesse to bring furniture brushes. Send up one of the big canisters to Crossmers [grocers] for 6 lb. Best Souchong Tea. I want my Work Box. ...The Coffee Mill & the Kitchen Sugar Box & Tin tea canisters. Fill the Caddie with Imperial Tea. We do not want Tables except from the Nursery....[43]

By the mid-1820s Cliveden boasted several stoves including a "pyramid stove" purchased from Rene I. Fougeray & Sons possibly for use in one of the chambers and a patent baking stove for the kitchen. Some of the rooms were carpeted. It is possible that some of the furnishings from Benjamin and Elizabeth Chew's Third Street town house may have been brought to Cliveden after her death in 1819.

In October 1817, Benjamin Jr. enlarged the Cliveden property for the last time by purchasing a twelve-acre tract of land from Jacob Clemens. (Fig. 15). He paid $8,500 for the roughly L-shaped property that joined the original Penington purchase on the south (at what is now Johnson Street). The parcel extended from Germantown Avenue almost to the present Musgrave Street. It is unclear precisely what buildings were on this tract beyond a house and an "old" (probably frame) barn when Chew bought it. Over the next few years Chew paid an unnamed black man for excavating a cellar, Germantown carpenter John McClune for moving one barn and tearing down another, and Alexander Prevost for building a stable on the newly acquired property.

Between 1817 and the late 1820s Chew invested a good deal of money in physical improvements to the estate. John McClune repaired the stable and a corn crib, built a chicken house and a pig pen, made new hot beds, and worked on the fences. There are other bills for repairing a kitchen floor and working on the pump at the gardener's house. Brown and Harris billed Chew $102 for the outstanding part of their account for painting and glazing at Cliveden. Peter Rote installed new fencing. John Booker spent twenty-one days blowing and sinking a well and another nine-and-a-half days deepening an existing well.

Chew continued to patronize Thomas P. M'Mahon for vegetable seeds, George R. Coates for orchard grass and clover seed, and William Coxe for nursery stock. Chew's 1819 order for fruit trees is very specific:

> I want fifty apple trees to supply the deficiency of my orchard at Germantown and shall be obliged by their being chosen of good and advanced size for planting out. I wish 6 or 8 of the number to be Belle Fleur, a majority of the whole number to be of Newton Pippin and the remainder to be made up of such good fruit as you will recommend for keeping apples. ...I shall also be obliged in having added to the apple trees, six peach trees of different kinds of the best fruits in the Nursery that I may obtain a variety to the stock I now have. ...Please add 2

[43] Letter from Katherine Banning Chew (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Chew Jr. (Maryland), undated but probably early 1807. CLIV, Doc. IV 145.

apricots──large early; 4 pear trees──Sechel and Buerre and any best recommended.[44]

In selecting "Belle Fleur" and "Newton Pippin" apples, Chew was ordering the most popular varieties as well as those that best wintered over. His choice of the seckel pear, a small, sweet, reddish-brown variety recently developed in Philadelphia, underscored his awareness of current horticultural develop- ment.

The farming operation had expanded to the point that two full-time gardeners were required. Henry Nickum functioned almost as an estate agent for Chew. He hired the local workers for planting and harvesting, kept track of their hours, and paid them from funds advanced by Chew. The under gardener was James Fee. Chew's accounts list the purchase of twine for staking plants and for sewing together the mats used to cover the hot beds in winter. John McClune supplied "hoop poals [poles] for garden." Their specific use is unclear although they may have been framing for an arbor.

The most unusual activity to occur at Cliveden in the late 1810s centered not on farming but on education. By 1818, Benjamin and Katherine's older children──Benjamin III, Samuel, and Eliza──had completed their formal education. That summer, Chew engaged the services of Hugh McMillan, a recent graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, to tutor some of his younger children. At the end of the summer, he supplied this letter of recommendation:

> ...Mr. Hugh McMillan has for the last three months resided in my family at my Country House as Instructor to two of my sons [Henry, age 17, and William, 15] in the Latin language affording also to one of my daughters [Anne, 13] a portion of time for her improvement in the English language, geography and history. His conduct has been exemplary as a gentleman and teacher...[45]

This is only one example of Chew's commitment to education that extended beyond his own family to the community at large. Between 1805 and 1811, he corresponded with educators in Baltimore and in New England in an unsuccessful effort to interest them in opening a school in Germantown. He served as a Trustee of Germantown Academy (May 1799-May 1802 and May 1803-April 1844) and of the University of Pennsylvania (1810-1844).

Most of the entertaining at Cliveden was of family and close friends from Philadelphia. The memorable exception was the reception for the Marquis de Lafayette on July 20, 1825 as part of his triumphal tour of Revolutionary War sites. Accounts of the visit differ considerably. Lafayette's secretary, Auguste Levasseur, described it in this manner:

> ...We went to visit the field of the battle of Germantown and the Mansion of Mr. Chew, on the walls of which may yet be discovered traces of the cannon and musket balls, proving the prominence of its situation in the battle that raged around it. After having breakfast with Mr. Benjamin Chew, the proprietor of this historic mansion, the General continued his route to

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[44] Letter from Benjamin Chew, Jr. (Philadelphia) to William Coxe (Burlington, NJ), February 9, 1819. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 73.

[45] Letter dated October, 1819. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 73.

Chestnut Hill....[46]

Miss Ann Johnson, who lived in the house across the street (now Upsala), reported the event to her mother who was then in Saratoga Springs:

> ...I had the honour of breakfasting with LaFayette at Mr Chews. I wish you had been there——the house both up and downstairs was crowded with men, women and soldiers——and round the house. Mrs. and two of the Miss Morris's and myself were the only invited ladies that sat down to Breakfast——about 16 sat down at first, and when they finished others took their place, and so on till I believe nearly all the soldiers had breakfast——those that did not come in had something in the kitchen. I heard that they eat [ate] everything they had till at last the cook had to lock the doors.
>
> I was introduced to LaFayette twice and shook hands with him three times. Ann Chew regretted M___ was not there to enjoy the scene——it was quite delightful to see anything so animated in G[ermantown]. There was so much noise that I couldn't hear a word the General said, every person seemed so anxious to see him eat, that a centenal *[sic]* had to keep guard at the door with a drawn sword——it was very fine indeed....[47]

By comparison, Chew's observations on the occasion were spartan, noting only those details he considered essential:

> General Fayette & very many breakfasted at Cliveden where all orders, Troop Militia & Germantown Citizens attended[.] Perhaps 3000 Persons assembled. Liquor distributed.[48]

In the 1830s Benjamin Chew began to suffer some financial reverses. As executor of his father's unresolved estate, he was under constant pressure from his more hard-pressed siblings for the cash they expected to inherit. His own children were a drain on his fortune. His sons, especially Benjamin III, borrowed money against their anticipated inheritance. Some of his investments floundered. The cost of maintaining two residences (the town house on South Fourth Street and Cliveden) placed an extra strain on his capital. The decline in Chew's personal fortune paralleled the great financial crisis which began in 1837 with the failure of the Bank of the United States and for several years thereafter enveloped the entire country.

In an unprecedented step, Chew mortgaged Cliveden to Joseph Archer for $12,000. He also borrowed several thousand dollars from the Bank of Pennsylvania and when he was unable to repay the loan, the bank placed a $6,295 lien against the property. Chew's death on April 30, 1844, brought all his financial difficulties to a head.

His will, drawn March 16, 1835, stipulated that his widow, Katherine, receive an annual annuity of

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[46] Auguste Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825*, translated by John D. Goodman, (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1829), Vol. II, p. 231.

[47] Letter from Ann Johnson to her mother in Saratoga Springs, July 24, 1825, quoted in Charles Francis Jenkins, *Lafayette's Visit to Germantown, July 20, 1825*, (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1911, pp. 25-28.

[48] Excerpt from Benjamin Chew Jr.'s Cash Book for 1825; annotation from his running cash accounts for that year. HSP, Chew Paper, Boxes 77 and 79.

$2,250 to be paid quarterly. She was to inherit "all the property called Cliveden, including the land and houses bought of Jacob Clements, for the term of her natural life." In addition, Benjamin left her "all...[the] household goods and furniture in the Town house...and at Cliveden or elsewhere and all my plate and plated ware, Linen, China, Glass, Liquors, Horses, Carriages, cattle, hogs and any grain gathered or growing, Hay Straw...also Kitchen Furniture...."[49] He expected Katherine to make Cliveden her permanent residence and he empowered his executors to sell all or part of the estate to provide for her maintenance. Benjamin left his unmarried daughter Anne Sophia (Fig. 16) a legacy of $16,000 with the stipulation that, if Cliveden had to be sold, that sum would be made up and paid to her out of other parts of his estate. The remainder was to be divided among his other children: Benjamin III, Samuel, Eliza Chew Mason, Henry, William and Anthony. The amounts previously advanced to his children were to be calculated in the distribution. Benjamin III was to receive an extra $4,000 portion for the time and attention he had given his father's land concerns. Benjamin Jr. appointed his wife Katherine and sons Ben and Samuel as executors; Henry was listed as an alternate because he was living in Baltimore.

Before his death, Benjamin Jr. added two codicils to his will. The first, in January 1842, equalized the shares allotted to Anthony, Henry and William. It also recognized the death of his son Sam the previous year, revising the list of executors to include Katherine, Benjamin III, Henry, William, and his daughter Eliza's husband, James M. Mason. The second codicil, added in December 1843, realigned his bequest to his eldest son, Benjamin III. It noted that land erroneously transferred to Ben remained part of his father's property. It also specified that the $4,000 previously allocated above Ben's common share for the time spent managing his father's land concerns was to be considered as the total for all charges for his time; any additional charges for services were to be deducted from his share.

Distribution of Benjamin Jr.'s estate was not easily resolved. Besides his two principal residences, his real property included a good deal of unimproved land in several counties in the state. These properties had to be surveyed and values assigned before they could be distributed to his heirs. The process took much longer than anyone in the family anticipated. The dissention in the family over the settlement of Benjamin Jr.'s estate tends to overshadow his contributions in shaping Cliveden's future. He was responsible for adding acreage to the property. New husbandry techniques introduced under his direction changed Cliveden into the country seat of an active gentleman farmer. His was the first generation to use Cliveden as a year-round home. By encouraging Katherine to make Cliveden her permanent residence, he set a pattern that most subsequent generations of the family would maintain.

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[49] Printed record of the suit filed by Henry B. Chew and James M. Mason against Benjamin Chew in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, for the Eastern District (January Term, 1859, No. 93), p. 19.

V: "Litigation that...appeared interminable"

THE FAMILY FIGHT OVER CLIVEDEN, 1844-1857 [50]

In the natural order of things, Benjamin III (1793-1864) had every reason to believe that he would inherit Cliveden although his mother might retain the use of it during her lifetime. His father's decision to leave the property to Katherine must have come as a great shock. Ben's first act was to move back to the house joining his mother, his sister Anne Sophia, and his brothers William and Anthony. Once there he lobbied to convince his mother to defy the other executors by refusing them access to his father's papers. Then he tried to solicit her support for a plan that would ultimately disinherit his other siblings.

The legal battle for control of Cliveden and Benjamin Jr.'s estate was a long and nasty fight and earned Benjamin III the nickname "Bad Ben," a designation used by all subsequent generations of the family. The first legal test came in the summer of 1844 over access to Benjamin Jr.'s papers. Executors Henry Banning Chew, William White Chew and James Murray Mason petitioned the Orphans Court to force "Bad Ben" to turn over the necessary documents. Anne Sophia found herself in an awkward position. She sided with the other executors and went so far as to support their position:

> Many weeks ago, before the present issue was anticipated by others, I had reason to believe that my brother Ben intended to retain a possession in which he had been tacitly allowed to assume & from the tenor of his remarks I inferred that he contemplated acting without reference or consultation with the other executors. I suggested that such a course would defeat the intent which provided for control by majority—that they could not regulate transactions of which they were kept in ignorance until completed & presented for confirmation to the Orphan's Court....I need hardly add that I have urged every plea that affection could dictate and every argument that my feeble powers could command to persuade him to spare us the annoyance, the discredit, the pecuniary inconvenience that must ensue if compelled to resort to redress in a public tribunal....It is desirable to ascertain...whether any one executor has an exclusive privilege and right to the possession or custody of papers &c belonging to the estate....[51]

In August 1844 the Court ruled against Ben, ordering him to turn over his father's papers to the other executors. When Ben tried to circumvent this action by transferring the needed material to his mother, the executors again went to Court to obtain an order for their release. Katherine was forced to comply. The executors also petitioned for Ben's removal as administrator. The Court acted favorably on this petition, removing Ben from the list of executors in December 1844. Acting for Benjamin Jr.'s estate, Henry Banning Chew and James M. Mason also charged Katherine with mismanaging the property. She was relieved as executor in March 1845.

Anne's daily memoranda for this period and the testimony of servants during the various subsequent legal challenges chart the breach in the family. In 1844 and 1845 the family unit living at Cliveden consisted of

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[50] Material for this section adapted from the HSR prepared by Martin Jay Rosenblum, R. A., & Associates (1992).

[51] Draft of a letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to "Dear Sir" [probably her lawyer Mr. Mundy], July 19, 1844. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

Katherine, Ben, William, Anthony and Anne. They were cared for by housekeeper Mary Bowman,[52] chambermaid Betsey Buddy, coachman James Smith,[53] and a cook.

Within a few months there was visible tension in the house that showed in the routines of daily living. Ben began taking his meals in the office. His mother generally dined with him while Anne, William and Anthony ate in the dining room. Mary Bowman later describe the arrangement:

> If Col. Chew [Ben] were at home, I think he and the family dined at the same hour; there were two tables. I suspect the dinner was all cooked at the same time. I cannot tell whether it was served in the dining room first, or in the office first. I cannot tell how long this separation of meals continued. It did not continue after all the young men had left the house.[54]

Robert Alsop, who served in the sheriff's office in Germantown, reported being called out on several occasions over the winter of 1844-1845 to quell domestic disturbances at Cliveden.

> There was a difficulty in the family. [Katherine Chew] complained to me principally of William, Henry, and Anne, and said she had trouble with Anthony, when he was in liquor, but could get along with him when he was sober. She was fearful of violence between those and the Colonel [Ben], principally.... On one occasion...I found [William] and his mother in a violent altercation. He was in liquor, and abused her so violently that, at her request, I had to put him out of the house.[55]

Katherine's relationship with her other children was strained as well. She apparently began to fear for her own safety in the chamber she shared with Anne. "Mama says she is afraid to go to bed; as she lays there she is afraid of me. I asked her what she is afraid of—my coming and strangling her."[56] Anne also noted the tension in the house generally:

> I am with mother day and night, rarely absent from her, except when she talks with Ben alone; until four months ago mother talked over everything with me, but Ben, by lying to her, has prevailed...to shut out the means of knowing the truth by prejudicing her against all her other children.[57]

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[52] Mary Bowman came into the Chew's household in 1816 as maid to Ben III's wife Elizabeth. After Elizabeth's death in 1817, she cared for their son William until his death in 1820. She remained in the household as housekeeper, nursing Benjamin Jr. in his final illness and caring for Katherine until her death in 1855.

[53] Black coachman James Smith joined Benjamin Chew's staff in 1819. He continued to serve the family until his death in 1871.

[54] Testimony of Mary Bowman given April 15, 1856 as part of the Appendix to the Auditor's Report. Published in *Estate of Benjamin Chew, of Cliveden, dec'd. Report of Auditors on Eighth Account of Executors* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, July 1860), pp. 71-72.

[55] Testimony of Robert Alsop, Esq., given May 27, 1856 as part of the Appendix to the Auditor's Report. Published in *Estate of Benjamin Chew, of Cliveden, dec'd. Report of Auditors on Eighth Account of Executors* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, July 1860), pp. 83-84.

[56] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memorandum, December 16, 1844. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 204.

[57] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memorandum, December 5, 1844. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 204.

The final breach occurred in the summer of 1845. Pleading that she was incapable of managing the estate herself, seventy-five year old Katherine (Fig. 17) advised the family that she had leased the sixty-acre Cliveden property (except for the house and lot already leased to Charles P. Bayard and the house and lot leased to Dennis McQuaid) to her son Benjamin for two years.[58] By the agreement drawn September 15, 1845, Ben gained control of all the buildings, household furniture, farming and gardening utensils, and carriages for the sum of $300 a year rent plus payment of the relevant taxes. Katherine reserved the right to use all or part of the house for her own residence.

Anne's reaction to this announcement was swift. She advised her mother that if Ben was to be the master of the house she could not remain there. Despite her mother's entreaties that "it would be the death of her" if Anne left, Anne moved to lodgings with the Douglases on Germantown Avenue a block or two below Cliveden. William and Anthony soon joined her there.[59] Coachman James Smith also left Katherine's employ but continued to work for Anne and William. (He returned to Cliveden with Anne in 1857.) Mary Bowman later testified that Katherine "was in the habit of going to see her daughter Ann[e]. As long as she was well enough to go she went frequently. Her son and daughter came very seldom to see her at Cliveden."[60]

By late 1845 the executors (Henry B. and William W. Chew and James M. Mason) had gained control of all parts of Benjamin Chew Jr.'s estate except for Cliveden and had begun to erase the outstanding debts amounting to about $70,000. In their efforts to re-establish financial stability, the executors paid Katherine small sums towards her promised annuity but the major portion was left in arrears. Katherine complained to Henry that the lack of her annuity left her destitute:

> My distress is already excessive. I could be satisfied to live on bread and water, and be thankful, but I am in debt to those who want and require payment, shop-keepers, &c.; and I am bare of clothing.
>
> Never, never was I in such a dreadful case before! I now request you to send me money, you have *all* mine among you! If you have any conscience left, you will let me have what you can at present. ...
>
> If you persist in refusing to do me justice, I shall be obliged to resort to very disagreeable measures. I must apply to a lawyer, to sue, and obtain what is due to me. And Oh! how distressed I shall be if compelled to this resource against my own children....[61]

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[58] Lease for the property dated September 15, 1845. Quoted in Appendix to the Auditor's Report. Published in *Estate of Benjamin Chew, of Cliveden, dec'd. Report of Auditors on Eighth Account of Executors* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, July 1860), pp. 51-52.

[59] Testimony of Mary Bowman given December 6, 1855 as part of the Appendix to the Auditor's Report. Published in *Estate of Benjamin Chew, of Cliveden, dec'd. Report of Auditors on Eighth Account of Executors* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, July 1860), p. 40.

[60] Testimony of Mary Bowman given December 6, 1855 as part of the Appendix to the Auditor's Report. Published in *Estate of Benjamin Chew, of Cliveden, dec'd. Report of Auditors on Eighth Account of Executors* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, July 1860), p. 41.

[61] Letter from Katherine Banning Chew to Henry Banning Chew, March 15, 1847, printed as part of the documents

In 1854 Katherine finally instituted a suit for her unpaid annuity naming her son Ben to act as lawyer on her behalf. The suit remained unsettled at the time of her death in March 1855.

Meanwhile the executors made progress toward stabilizing the estate. The auditor's report, published in 1859, noted that the estate had been raised from a condition of embarrassment and impending ruin to one of prosperity and affluence. Its present worth was valued at $200,000-$300,000.[62] Further the action had been a boon for the legal profession. $25,789.56 had been expended settling the estate including "commissions to the executors, traveling expenses, compensation to the agents, and commissions to the agents on sales." The auditors judged that these expenses were "not excessive."

Katherine spent her last years confined to Cliveden. She was very feeble, her memory was failing, and according to Mary Bowman, her housekeeper, she needed someone with her at all times. Mary took Anne's place sleeping in the room with Katherine, helping her dress, and generally attending her. Mary and Katherine shared the large chamber over the parlor. In the morning, after washing and partially dressing, Katherine would take breakfast in her room. She rarely came down stairs before one or two o'clock in the afternoon. Katherine generally greeted her infrequent visitors from her favored place, seated on the sofa placed between the two windows in the dining room.[63]

Katherine spent the rest of the day downstairs before returning to her apartment in the evening. Mary slept in the second bed in Katherine's room. Sometimes Barbara Cashan, the chambermaid, spent the night with Katherine while Mary occupied the front room on the "north" side. On other nights Barbara slept on the third floor with other servants.

Katherine remained at Cliveden until her death in March 1855. Anne left her lodging with the Douglases and moved into town about the same time. She did not return to Germantown until 1857. Ben lived at Cliveden between 1845 and 1855, and after his mother's death, he was, for a short time, in sole possession of the property. He claimed the house and grounds under a clause in his father's will that permitted heirs to substitute land for cash as their share of the estate.

The executors went to court after Katherine's death to have Ben evicted, claiming that the Cliveden property was much more valuable than Ben's share of the estate. While the ultimate fate of Cliveden still rested with the courts, the trustees proposed subdividing a part of the property into building lots. The land was surveyed and a plot plan drawn up which called for an eighteen-foot wide road cut from Cliveden Street to

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presented to Orphans Court of Philadelphia County for settlement the Estate of Benjamin Chew Esquire (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1860), p. 17.

[62] "Chew's Estate, Argument of Executors." (Philadelphia: Crissy & Markley, July 30, 1959).

[63] Testimony of Mary Bowman given December 6, 1855 as part of the Appendix to the Auditor's Report. Published in *Estate of Benjamin Chew, of Cliveden, dec'd. Report of Auditors on Eighth Account of Executors* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, July 1860), pp. 28-43.

Johnson Street immediately in front of the mansion. The area between the new road and Germantown Avenue was to be divided into large town lots. Notice of the impending sale appeared in Germantown and Philadelphia newspapers in late March 1857:

> THE CHEW PROPERTY, in this place, is now being surveyed with a view to dividing it into large town lots, to be sold at public sale. The fine old house, so celebrated in history, is of course to stand, and will face an eighty [eighteen] feet wide street which will pass directly in front of it. ... The ground comprises some sixty acres, and will [be] cut up into some of the most beautiful sites for building of any ever offered for sale in Germantown.[64]

While the property was open for inspection, a number of people from Germantown and Philadelphia took advantage of the opportunity to tour the house. Marshal John S. Keyser showed visitors around and related anecdotes concerning the battle that occurred there. Newspaper accounts reported that those hoping to see "some of the relics of the revolution ... were much disappointed to find that all the portable objects had been carried away."[65]

The Court ultimately ruled that Cliveden was worth between $120,000 and $180,000 or nearly half the value of Benjamin Jr.'s entire estate. When Ben finally was evicted from the property in 1857, he moved to "Hermit Spring" on Hermit Lane in Roxborough taking with him most of the furnishings from the house. These passed to his housekeeper, Mary Bowman, on his death in 1864. Anne later reported:

> B[en]'s death occurred in August last. He left MB [Mary Bowman] his executor and gave her ¼ of his estate ...[and] gave her <u>all</u> the furniture. MB died one month after in September & her people came in for what had been given to her! the contents <u>of house & place as you knew it</u>. The woman sent to a paper mill loads of paper & books. I think it was said tons. We heard of it & went to try to rescue them but were too late to get much of any account.[66]

The fate of the furniture is unknown. A number of Chew family items were sold at the Philadelphia auction house of Samuel B. Freeman that year. Family tradition holds that they were purchased by Ben's nephew, Samuel Chew III, and are part of the present furnishings at Cliveden.

Ben not only took furnishings, he also attempted to change the appearance of the estate by removing plant material and statuary. "Mr. Nice came into town this morning to tell me that he had heard that Mr. B. Chew was dismantling the Cliveden Estate, Garden &c.," Sam wrote his father in March 1857. "...He was digging up the shrubs and fruit trees from the garden, had taken off its hot house frame &c——." His letter continues:

> I went down and told Mr. Murdy of it, and asked him to give notice thereof to the Sh[eri]ff and to let him know that he would be responsible for the injury received by the property during the

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[64] Unidentified newspaper, April 1, 1857. Library Company of Philadelphia [LCP], Charles Poulson Scrapbooks, Vol. 9, p. 31.

[65] Unidentified newspaper, April 1, 1857. LCP, Charles Poulson Scrapbooks, Vol. 9, p. 31.

[66] Draft of letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to "Teaco," [Catherine Mason], March 18, 1865. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197. "Teaco" was the family name for Catherine Eilbeck Mason (1804-1888), Eliza (Chew) Mason's sister-in-law.

> unnecessary and unjust delay of the Execution of the writ. Mr. Murdy tho't that it would be best to get someone to swear that the mischief was going on, and on such affidavit, he would obtain from the Court an injunction. (After the harm was done.)[67]

Two months later Sam reported another of Ben's maneuvers:

> On Monday I was obliged to enter into a Bond with F. Judson to prevent the removal of the statuary from Cliveden...by B. Chew. The bond was the ordinary claim property bond and its amount $100. Its character I suppose you know. We bind ourselves in that sum to obey the action of the Court for the Executors.[68]

The rift in the family never healed. As Anne wrote to a friend: "[Ben] had caused his family much sorrow in his lifetime & passed from this world without one word of reconciliation."[69]

By 1859 two street railway lines linking Germantown with center city stimulated the process of transformation from rural to suburban community. Capitalizing on this event, one final act remained for the executors. Because the majority of the worth of Benjamin Jr.'s estate was in the Cliveden land, they determined that the tract must be divided and portions sold to satisfy the demands of the growing number of heirs. Mr. Cash cut Johnson and Cliveden Streets through to Chew Street at the north end of the property. The presence of plank foot paths made it possible for people to stroll about. Anne was not entirely happy about these changes. "They are really beautiful streets," she wrote her brother Henry, "though I begrudge there being [any] streets."[70] Anne also found her new neighbors "a pleasant set of young folk...though not of the same calibre."[71]

In May 1859 the executors offered at public sale five lots on the south side of the recently opened Johnson Street. Ben, still a disruptive factor despite his removal from the scene, tried to stop the sale. He was unsuccessful and the transaction realized $10,000 for the estate. Later in 1859 and again in 1860, other lots on the recently opened Cliveden Street went on the block. Harry Ingersoll, a Chew family friend, bought the block bounded by Johnson, Morton, Cliveden, and Nash—the land immediately behind the present Cliveden property. The sale of other parcels continued throughout the 1860s.

In 1871, the remaining heirs (and in some cases the heirs of the original heirs) of Benjamin, Jr., decided

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[67] Letter from Samuel Chew (Philadelphia) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), March 17, 1857. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 191.

[68] Letter from Samuel Chew (Philadelphia) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), May 27, 1857. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 191.

[69] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Miss Katherine Gibbon, January, 1865. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[70] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), August 10, 1859. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 142.

[71] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), July 18, 1859. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 142.

to divide the remaining land among themselves for resale as each desired. The property was divided into twelve lots by Edward Bralock and Charles S. Pancoast. This action finally settled Benjamin Jr.'s estate. The sale of the outstanding property continued into the twentieth century.

VI: "The house and grounds woefully out of repair"

ANNE SOPHIA PENN CHEW RECLAIMS THE HOUSE, 1858-1867

Anne moved back to Cliveden in the fall of 1857, bringing with her fifteen wagon loads of goods and her small household staff consisting of Hannah Welsh, an Irish cook; James Smith, a black general servant, formerly a coachman; and Maria Claffy, a recently married Irish maid who soon left Anne's service. Much to her dismay, Anne found that the estate had deteriorated badly in the years she had been away.

The mansion house and the lot on which it sat remained a part of her father's estate and was owned jointly by his heirs. Anne and her disinherited brother Ben were the only members of their generation living in Philadelphia. Her older sister Eliza was married to James Murray Mason, Senator from Virginia, and lived in the Georgetown section of Washington, D.C. Her brother Henry had married into the Ridgely family of Maryland and was living at "Epsom" in Towsontown (now Towson) outside Baltimore. Her other siblings were dead. If the mansion house were to remain in the family, the responsibility for its preservation would fall to Anne. Although she lacked the funds to buy the property outright from her father's estate, she made a down payment on the house and undertook the initial repairs at her own expense. "I paid by hands of [my nephew] Samuel Chew $1500──being first payment on my purchase of Cliveden house and lot of 400 feet on Johnson Street by 140 feet on Morton Street," she noted on October 19, 1857.[72] Anne completed the purchase in September 1862, paying a total of $13,200 for the house and its lot.[73]

Her first acts in 1857 and 1858 were to restore the first floor entertaining rooms to a presentable appearance. "You ask what has been done here in the way of...[work] since you left us," she wrote Henry in December 1857.

> I am afraid you will think I have done very little──though I think I have done a good deal considering all things──for in the first place I am not smart──& in the second place the means wherewithal are small──& in the third place it is not as easy to obtain help here as in town & then we have a good deal of company──a good many visitors──& a good many promises of visits which required the house to be in a state for their reception. Sometimes they came when expected & some times they did not come when expected, but whether they came or did not come I had to be ready all the same──& that of course impeded progress in other work.
>
> I am always glad to have company & so glad to have this house to fix that I am willing to take things as they come. & country life as you & Elizabeth know subjects one to such disappointments.[74]

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[72] HSP, Chew Papers, Box 204.

[73] Deed of sale from Henry Banning Chew, executor for the estate of Benjamin Chew, deceased, to Anne Sophia Penn Chew, September 24, 1862. Philadelphia Co. Deed Book, ACH 64, p. 32.

[74] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), December 17, 1857. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 141.

On her direction, Alpheus Channon, a local painter and glazier, installed 23 new "lights" (window panes) and painted the woodwork in the parlor and the dining room. Charles Idell applied a skim coat of plaster and whitened the ceilings in both rooms. He also plastered holes and cracks in "some of the chambers & school room [the small room on the southeast corner of the first floor]," but as Anne pointed out to her brother, "more is still wanted when convenient to promote warmth &c."[75] The most conspicuous improvement was the introduction of wallpaper in the dining room. Philadelphia wallpaper manufacturer H. B. Blanchard supplied "8 pieces paper hazel, 1 piece marble [marbleized], and 2 pieces border" plus the canvas on which the wallpaper was hung. The cost of materials and labor for the project was $6.89. Blanchard's description of the wallpaper suggests that Anne selected one of the newly popular grained papers in preference to those featuring trophies of the hunt or of the vine, the other designs considered appropriate for a dining room. Anne completed the refurbishing of these two rooms by installing new heating devices. She purchased a stove for the dining room from James Spear and a heating grate for the parlor from the firm of Andrew and Dixon. She improved the comfort level of her own chamber with the installation of a "little old air tight oven...."[76] She also had two chimney boards covered with wallpaper; these were used to fill the fireplace openings during the months when fires were not laid.

Most of the work in 1857 and 1858 was inside the house, but there were two exceptions. In May 1858, Anne paid Levi Sperry for work on the privy. (This is the first specific mention of a privy although there probably always had been one on the site.) Later that year Sperry billed her for general repairs to doors and window sashes and for work on a trap door. Her memos for 1859 specifically noted areas of the house that needed urgent attention including:

> The corner of the gable over the front door at the roof where there is a crack in the cornice owing to the spout having been stopt *[sic]* up I believe.
>
> The two exterior front corners of the house where the water flows over the spout & gutter and on the southeast corner the box at the top of the spout is rotten & broken.
>
> The kitchen roof & cornice at the connection where the old & new parts join. The horse chestnut tree to be trimmed of those branches which are nearest to the roof over the kitchen door and collonade *[sic]*.
>
> The colonade *[sic]* roof leaks ——. See to the Pantry floor & roof....
>
> The cellar door under the parlor window——a hole in the cheek——eastern & the stone slabs appear to have sunken out of their original position, both of that cellar door & the one under the dining room.
>
> The pavement at the back of the house needs raising in order to throw off the water & the corner next to the pavement needs raising & sodding & the spout &c at the eastern corner needs a thorough fixing——see the wall in the cellar.[77]

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[75] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), December 17, 1857. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 141.

[76] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), December 17, 1857. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 141.

[77] Memorandum dated January 2, 1859. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 204.

Anne lacked the ready cash to undertake all the needed improvements at one time so the work progressed slowly. As a result Cliveden remained, in the words of Sidney George Fisher, who visited the property twice in 1860, "a fine, picturesque old mansion with large rooms, but house and grounds woefully out of repair."[78]

While the refurbishing was in progress Anne was joined at Cliveden by her nephew Samuel Chew (1832-1887) (Fig. 18), third son of her brother Henry. Sam's mother had died when he was three, and although his father remarried five years later, Sam had a special affection for his Aunt Anne. In the absence of a family of her own, Anne treated their relationship more as mother and son than aunt and nephew. "Sam returned home yesterday afternoon much to my satisfaction," she wrote her brother Henry. "I am not apt to feel lonesome, but it is much more agreeable to have him back again."[79] Sam had come to Philadelphia from Maryland in the mid 1850s to make his fortune. It was in his professional capacity as a lawyer that Sam met Philadelphia dry goods merchant and textile manufacturer David Sands Brown, an event that would subsequently change his life. His acquaintance with Brown's children—Joseph Johnson, Martha, and especially Mary—came through traditional social circles. Sam began courting Mary Johnson Brown (1839-1927) (Fig. 19) in the summer of 1859 and married her in June 1861.

The second burst of refurbishing activity at Cliveden came as a direct response to Sam and Mary's impending marriage. With a new bride coming, Anne continued improving the first floor and decided to redecorate the chamber Sam occupied. She hired Amos Davis of Germantown to apply a skim coat of plaster to the parlor walls. Alpheus Channon returned to paint Sam's bed chamber. Channon also painted another chamber, either Sam's dressing room (which John Bardsley would repaint in 1864) or Anne's chamber. James Burk, Jr., a prominent Philadelphia manufacturer and importer of paper hangings, supplied the materials and labor for hanging the "glazed paper" and "velvet border" in Sam's chamber. There are also bills for repairing furniture, for curtains, and for papering two fire boards.

Anne's efforts to make the house presentable apparently were only partially successful. For at least some visitors, the overall effect remained one of genteel shabbiness, as Sarah Wister reported of her visit to Cliveden on July 12, 1861:

> Went up to call on the young bride, Mrs. Sam Chew (Daughter of David S. Brown). Several people were there & the whole thing struck me very strangely, the imposing old house with its mutilated statues & grim stone lions, the slipshod Irish chamber maid who ushered us in, the fine large room almost destitute of furniture, in which the few heavy, shabby old articles contrasted strangely with the one or two little modern knick-knacks, wedding presents I suppose, it seemed such a strange old place for two young people to be beginning their lives in;

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[78] Fisher's visits to Cliveden on April 14 and November 26, 1860 are recorded in *A Philadelphia Perspective: The Diary of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834-1871,* Nicholas B. Wainwright (ed.), (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967), p. 371.

[79] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Baltimore), May 24, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

> & Miss Ann *[sic]* Chew with her handsome, sad face & simple high breeding, & the little insignificant, chattering chirping bride. (I knew better afterwards, an amiable, admirable woman she turned out.)[80]

Owning a house meant constant maintenance. Anne hired carpenter Michael Ogden to perform a variety of odd jobs between 1860 and 1866. One of his most important projects was work on the privy. Bills for masonry, plastering, and hardware indicate that the privy was "finished" inside. John W. Bardsley billed Anne $23.25 for giving the building four coats of paint on the exterior and two on the interior. Ogden's largest project was laying the plank boardwalk along the outside edge of Anne's lot. This was the northeast quadrant of the present Cliveden estate, along Johnson and Morton Streets. It was a cooperative project. Edward Shadley's crew worked thirteen days grading the area. Curtis Smith supplied the lumber that Michael Ogden used for the walkway.

Adequate water for full household operations was an ongoing problem. "I long to have a *[sic]* plenty of good water," Anne wrote her brother in May 1860.

> As it is I send altogether for drinking water to Johnsons [across Germantown Avenue] and for washing clothes we depend on a rain cask,—though the pump is in use for common purposes—but the water always tastes of the iron pipe.[81]

The workmen already were laying water pipe along Johnson Street. "The water will soon be flowing up our street," Anne observed. "Until I can manage to get bath arrangements in the house here or handy to the chambers, I intend to have as a temporary concern, a portable bath put into the wash house—for I long to have that convenience."[82]

Anne's success in achieving this objective is unclear for it was not until five years later that the Germantown Water Company billed her $104.25 for laying 100 feet of pipe. She invested an additional $92.60 to have B. Potter install another 150 feet of cast iron pipe and a cedar hydrant to bring the water from Johnson Street to the house. Earlier she had worried about the best location for the hydrant:

> The most convenient place for the kitchen is not the most desirable on other accounts. If it comes back of the kitchen to the north western side, the work is too much in view of the dining room & the fall of the ground is not good there....[83]

Clearly the matter had been resolved. The new water system was a major investment, but the cost was offset by

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[80] Fanny Kemble Wister (ed.), "Sarah Butler Wister's Civil War Diary," *PMHB*, 102 (July 1978), p. 314.

[81] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), May 9, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 142.

[82] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), May 9, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 142.

[83] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Banning Chew (Towsontown, MD), May 9, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 142.

reducing the number of pumps on the estate and the recurring expense of keeping them in repair. The first pumps to be eliminated were those serving the kitchen and the wash house. The last probably were those in the stable and garden because of the cost of laying water mains the additional distance.

While much of the work at Cliveden between 1857 and 1866 centered on repairing and refurbishing the house, Anne did not neglect the property at large. In 1858 she hired two local gardeners, John Palmer and Barry Higgins, to help with the estate. Palmer's services were regular throughout the planting and harvesting season. Higgins, who lived on Washington Lane, was a professional gardener whose services to Miss Chew were intermittent. Generally he had several helpers who assisted him with the planting. Higgins charged $1.25 a day; Palmer's rate was $1.00. Planting a vegetable garden was a high priority that year. Anne bought "8 raspberry roots, cabbage plants, and 2 rhubarb roots" from Edward Paramour. The list of garden seeds included corn, peas, carrots, early beans, onions, salsify (an herb of the chicory family), and okra. Anne also ordered thirty-two tomato plants and thirty-six eggplant plants. The vegetable harvest that summer was plentiful, as Anne noted in her memo book on August 21, 1858: "[John] Palmer gathered some beans to take to some people who employed his wife; he has said that he could get customers for the surplus of our garden."[84] Anne also apparently did some hands-on gardening. She reported on October 18th: "I was busy several days last week with my plants, repotting and having them moved."[85] Besides the vegetable garden, there was also a grape arbor at Cliveden in which Edward Shadley did some work. The following year Anne hired the firm of Gleason and Whitehall for general landscaping and to work in the garden.

In 1860, John P. Nichols assumed primary responsibility for the farm and gardens. Jobbers Michael Shaffer and Peter White did most of the mowing with Shaffer's wife assisting from time to time. Anne also employed John Hoser, "his man John, and another dutchman" for other gardening activities including planting 50 cabbage plants.

> I have had Dutch John & Fowler's son, a boy of 17, at work yesterday and today & have got another [*illegible*] of peas & snap short beans in—& your flower bed fixed & almost full enough—2 of your own fuchsias, your 2 Cape Jassamines *[sic]* [*Gardenia jasminodes*], 3 of my Roses, your sweet alissum [alyssum], your Nutmeg Geranium—making it look quite ship shape. These were put in this morning & the bed in the oval dug over again & the bed at the collonade *[sic]* dug up & the bed of twitch [quitch or couch grass, a weed] is nearly dug in ready for lima beans & corn ... All this done yesterday & this morning before 10 o'clock. John is a very good worker once at it & stays until 7 o'clock. He is anxious to get the work of the garden for the summer having 2 other to take care of & saying the three will be as much as he can take charge of. If nothing else turns up, I think we will have it so—for thus far, he has done well.[86]

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[84] HSP, Chew Papers, Box 204.

[85] Anne Sophia Penn Chew's memoranda. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 204.

[86] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to her nephew Samuel Chew (Towsontown, MD), May 18, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 220.

The following year John Palmer was back in Anne's employ to do most of the gardening.

The costs of running Cliveden included a variety of routine household expenses for staff, equipment repairs and replacements, and redecoration. In the early years, the size of the resident staff was three or four. After Sam and Mary began living at Cliveden in the summer and during extended visits by other family members, Anne augmented her permanent staff. Norah Monahan joined the household as housemaid and "Robert" assumed the duties of coachman. Anne also hired jobbers from the local area: Mrs. Palmer, the gardener's wife, assisted with the washing and ironing on a temporary basis; Mary Welsh came in to assist her sister Hannah when visitors arrived from Maryland; and Mrs. Maloy helped with the seasonal cleaning. Anne's permanent staff was predominantly white, Irish and Roman Catholic. James Smith, her general servant was black; Robert's ethnic origin is not known. Many of the day jobbers who worked on the farm and gardens were locals of Germanic origin, although some were descended from English, Scots-Irish, Irish, or Welsh immigrants.

> The duties of the servants were routine. Anne outlined the work she expected of her cook:
> A Cook's work is to come down stairs early—make the kitchen fire. Get breakfast. Wash up breakfast things. Take care of the meats & all the eatables. Keep the cellar, where the provisions are kept, clean, & the pantry & the kitchen & all her pots, kettles, pans, irons. Clean the kitchen steps & I wish mine to keep the collonade *[sic]* clean. Two days a week are taken up with washing & ironing.[87]

Cliveden's staff not only did Anne's laundry, they also provided a similar service for Sam and his family even when they were living with Mary's parents at 1716 Walnut Street. Robert carted the clean laundry to town at least once a week. Sam came to rely on the regularity of the deliveries and when it did not arrive as anticipated he included a strong reprimand for the servants in a letter to his aunt:

> I am very badly off for clothes. My stockings are all soiled. I had to wear one pair four days and have been obliged to put on a pair of heavy woolen ones, such as I do not like to wear as they make the feet swell and tender. Hannah ought to send me a better supply of clothes. I do not like to wear less than 2 undershirts per week and 2 pairs drawers. And I am sometimes obliged to wear 1 set for more than a week. I don't like it and in my life, I should have a pair of stockings every day. Wearing them two or three days is not nice and gives cold. And I ought to have four shirts per week at least and plenty of collars. My dear Aunt please give Hannah a list of these essentials as they are important.[88]

The number of "family" living in the house at any one time fluctuated greatly. Anne lived there permanently; she rarely left Cliveden for any length of time. Sam and Mary and their growing family were at Cliveden periodically but also spent time in town and at David Sands Brown's country house in Radnor. Anne's brother Henry moved back to Cliveden from Maryland in August 1862, after the death of his second wife Elizabeth. Sam's unmarried brother, Benjamin IV, stayed at Cliveden when he was in the Philadelphia area.

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[87] Anne Sophia Penn Chew's memoranda, July 11, 1861. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

[88] Letter from Samuel Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), December 29, 1865. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

The expenses of running the household plus the costs of stabilizing and improving the property exceeded Anne's meager income. And her brother Ben's ongoing attempts to reclaim the house as his share of his father's inheritance left her in a constant state of dread. "I have felt very anxious lately about my tenure here," she wrote her brother Henry in July 1862:

> I have been coming over my own ability to effect or complete my purchase of this place.... It will go hard with me to pay as much for the place as was agreed upon [$13,200], especially as I found the house so much more out of repair than was represented.... Yet I cannot endure the idea of giving up the place. We all love it more than ever. And if I have not my title clear & defined I fear that...Ben...might contrive to invent some way of worrying us here.[89]

Sam's engagement and subsequent marriage to Mary Brown in 1861 substantially changed the pattern of domestic life at Cliveden. The quiet life of "mother" and "son" was replaced by an invisible triangle with the two women competing for Sam's attention. Anne's position is easy to understand. From her point of view, the union bartered the Chew name and colonial credentials for the Brown money, an alliance she found less advantageous for Sam than for Mary. She saw Mary as an indulged young woman, accustomed to luxury and, therefore, unfit to manage Cliveden. Her notes scribbled for inclusion in her diary on October 1, 1860, indicate her distress:

> I have brought my wares [Sam] to a very poor market. I have spent my money to very little purpose, when it could do no better than supply Mr. David S. Brown with a son in law. When it could do no better than give David S. Brown's daughter a gentleman for a husband. Nobody seems likely to profit from this match. My lady [Mary] thinks she gives up a great deal for him, yet he don't get much by it. And I think that he sacrifices much by linking himself to her & her family. & thus far I don't see what he gains or is to gain. She seems to be a poor little body brought up with luxurious habits & thus totally unfit for the home that awaits her. Totally incapable of managing an old fashioned house like this, even if she were mistress of it. I dare say she could keep well enough one accommodated with all the modern improvements if she had plenty of money to pay for what she is accustomed to think everyday requirements. But where is all the money to come from.[90]

Later that month, Anne confided her reservations to her sister Eliza. "I understand that the young lady is held in high esteem by those who know her well," she allowed, "and I remember that you & Mr. Mason commented favorably on her appearance & manners when you saw her at the Wissahickon. Sam is very well satisfied & that is everything in the choice of a wife." Her letter concludes:

> I think it is most likely that they will live with me as long as is agreeable with them & convenient....I should be very sorry to part with him & he is not rich enough to adopt your suggestion of building a house & going to housekeeping on his own hook at present.[91]

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[89] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to her brother Henry Banning Chew ("Epsom," Towsontown, MD), July 28, 1862. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[90] HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[91] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to her sister Eliza Chew Mason, October 20, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

Sam was aware of the tension between the women in his life, especially those connected with bringing a young bride into a home managed by a fifty-six year-old maiden aunt. For the sake of domestic tranquility, enmity could not be permitted to escalate. There is no record of Sam's discussion with his aunt, but it prompted Anne to draft a note to Mary in November 1860:

> My nephew thinks that my manner to you is less warm, less kind, less something or other than it ought to be. Perhaps the idea comes from you.
>
> ...You must remember that my first impression was not that you loved him, but that you did not love him; not that you appreciated him, but that you did not appreciate him; not that he was happier for loving you but that he was disappointed & dejected....
>
> As you have consented to share our home...I should be candid.... My nephew has spoken to me of your wish to bring to your new home some things for your own convenience or comfort & the question [of] whether it would be agreeable to me. I beg to assure you that I should consider it very unreasonable to object....I am well aware that in exchanging, giving up a luxurious & elegant home for one comparatively deficient in domestic accommodation, you are likely to feel the want of many indulgences which you are accustomed [to] & to the extent of my ability I would gladly do what I can to make the change as little irksome as possible.[92]

There is no evidence that this letter was sent and it may have served simply to soothe Anne's wrath. However, Anne expressed similar thoughts in a letter to Mary written in January 1861:

> With great diffidence I venture to suggest to her who has engaged to be the future companion of a nephew whom I love & esteem above all others that it is not wise to make him dissatisfied—discontented with one who has his welfare & his happiness much at heart. Who has hitherto been to him, next to his own father, his nearest & dearest friend, & the most considerate of his interests. One who alone of his friends seems ready to use any exertion or make any sacrifice of personal convenience for his gratification. If a distance is to be created between us, if an end is to be put to my relations with him, I shall deeply deplore it & pray Heaven that you may be able & <u>willing</u> to compensate him for what he loses in me. I feel much hurt to find that my every word & look & action is jealously scrutinized & weighed & measured & found wanting. I have had no intention to offend. I wished & endeavored to do what is right. I sincerely regret having failed to give satisfaction.[93]

Mary's response to this "dropped gauntlet" is not known, but in the triangle, hers was a position of strength. She was younger than Anne and capable of bearing heirs. From that time on, Anne made an effort to be at least outwardly accommodating and agreeable. But when she and Mary differed, Anne did not hesitate to bring the problem to Sam's attention expecting his full support.

Mary's relationship to Anne is much less easily assessed. Her letters show both proper respect and genuine affection for "dear Miss Chew." They are filled with invitations to visit the family in town or at "Vanor." They also indicate Mary's interest in activities at Cliveden, possibly capitalizing on Anne's concern for the estate.

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[92] Draft of letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew [Cliveden] to Mary Johnson Brown [Philadelphia], November 9, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[93] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Mary Johnson Brown [Philadelphia], January 15, 1861. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

The addition of children, especially boys to carry on the Chew name, also helped to strengthen Mary's position with Anne. Nevertheless, the two women coexisted in an uneasy truce while Sam lived.

Sam and Mary lost little time in starting their family. Their first child, a daughter named Anne Sophia Penn Chew for Sam's beloved aunt, was born in June 1862. Elizabeth Brown Chew, named for Mary's mother and called "Bessy,"[94] followed in November a year later. Their first son, David Sands Brown Chew, named for his grandfather (and his father's boss), was born in March 1866. The birth of a male heir was cause for celebration. But for Mary the difficulty of that birth and the prolonged recuperation prompted concern. "So far as I can make out," she wrote Anne, "I suppose it must be woman's duty to go on having children every year——even if it kills her & she knows it will do so & if the Almighty wills it no one ought to complain——but it requires an effort to be resigned."[95] Despite the tenor of the note, Sam and Mary produced three additional sons. Samuel was born in 1871, Benjamin in 1878, and Oswald in 1880.

Mary did not enjoy robust health and each pregnancy was followed by an extended period of recovery. While Mary regained her health, the children were tended by a nurse. The children came out to Cliveden for part of each summer while their parents vacationed at Cape May, Atlantic City, or Long Branch, New Jersey. During these times, Cliveden echoed with the sounds of young children, as it had not since Anne and her siblings had lived there early in the nineteenth century.

How did an aging maiden aunt deal with active young children? Two drafts of Anne's letter to Mary written in July 1865, while two-year-old Bessy was at Cliveden, provide part of the answer:

> You made me promise to send you a daily bulletin of the state of Bessie's health &c. I suppose I must begin today, altho there is really very little to say——save that she rolled about my bed last night in the most astonishing manner——floundering out of her crib into the bed & back & forth so that I was obliged to barricade her side of the bed with chairs & pillows & then lie across & obliquely & every which way to keep her from tumbling out. ...At about 3 o'clock this morning I calculated that if the floor of my room was entirely covered with a gigantic mattress she would barely find room to turn & then bump her head against the walls, north, south, east & west....
>
> What in the world does Catherine [the nurse] do with her if she carries on in that way every night? She [Bessy] did not wake up except to ask for water & then went to sleep immediately & this morning was extremely astonished & assured to find herself with me....[96]

Despite the inconvenience, Anne seems to have enjoyed the experience.

Sam and Mary chose to spend the winter in Philadelphia in the comfort of David S. Brown's more

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[94] As an adult, Elizabeth Chew generally signed her letters to family members using her nickname "Bessy;" an alternate spelling ("Bessie") is used occasionally by other family members.

[95] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 22, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

[96] Drafts of two letters from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew, July 5, 1865. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

modern Walnut Street town house. This also gave Mary the opportunity to enjoy the social activities available in the city during the winter "season". Anne went into town to visit the couple but rarely stayed more than a few hours. The new railroad systems linking Philadelphia and Germantown allowed Sam to spend time with his aunt at Cliveden with some regularity, but Mary made only intermittent visits especially during the winter.

Anne's world centered on Cliveden and her family, but she was also well aware of the events of the early 1860s leading to the dissolution of the Union. Her elder sister Eliza was married to James Murray Mason (Fig. 20), Senator from Virginia. In the years before Virginia seceded and communication with the Masons became dangerous, Anne carried on an active correspondence with her sister and brother-in-law concerning political events.

"What is going to be the upshot of all this hullabaloo they are keeping in the South," she wrote her sister Eliza in late November 1860, concerning Virginia's possible secession. "What is Mason good for if he can't put an end to the disturbance. Tell him from me that I don't think much of his great talents if he don't put them to some good use."[97] Anne respected Mason and considered him a sound thinker. As the situation escalated she urged him:

> My hope was that such as you might find a way to set things right——to throw oil on troubled waters. Are all the "shining lights" of our country going out? Is there not one remaining to offer compromise & put aside the frightful contingency. It seems to me that the North & South do not understand each other thoroughly. You assert that the election of Lincoln turned on one issue. Yet within a week past I have heard of three moderate men——visitors in our own little circle——men opposed to the attack upon slavery——whose reason for giving their votes to him was for the sake of the tariff which they considered necessary to the interests of Pennsylvania & to their individual interests. But Heaven knows that the tariff cannot do Pennsylvania merchants & manufacturers good if there is to be a domestic war & a general disturbance of business confidence.[98]

For Mason and many southerners, the central issue was slavery. For Anne the problem was not nearly so clear. As she wrote her sister:

> I love the Union, for what it is worth to us as Americans & in that point of view I glory in it. & I value it now for the sake of our family & our individual interests. But I depreciate *[sic]* the course of the North in the attempt to sacrifice millions of white men for an idea——or for the negroes——for weighing in the balance the work of...our Country, United, with the Abolition of Slavery. I have objections to the institution because it admits of abuse. The cruelty which men practice upon slaves, the demoralization which the institution has entailed upon both races——the pictures of slave ships which have been presented to the mind's eye——& various other facts are sufficient to rouse opposition with persons who are uninterested in its continuance. But if it cannot be remedied without the sacrifice of lives by Civil War, of financial

[97] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Eliza Chew Mason, November 30, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[98] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to James Murray Mason, December 1, 1860. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

> credit by the disturbance of commercial exchanges & trade, of peace [&] plenty at home & the influence abroad which attaches to permanent institutions & a long lived government, the choice is in favor of these latter precious possession & I consider it the silliest of all policies to sacrifice the greater good for the less.[99]

There is a certain irony in Anne's position. Her grandfather, Chief Justice Benjamin Chew, owned slaves from the eighteenth century into the first decade of the nineteenth century. Her father also owned slaves. As late as the 1820 census his household included two male slaves and four male and one female free blacks who had been slaves. Her grandfather also had signed the survey report of Mason and Dixon establishing the line separating North from South.

As the probability of conflict rose, Anne's concern, increasingly, was for the safety of her sister and her sister's family. Of the protracted separations to come and the form her future letters would take she wrote:

> It is...quite impossible for us to meet for some time to come. Not until the Country is settled & at peace again. I will not write about public affairs. I never was much of a politician & differences of opinion have nothing to do with affection....[100]

Within months direct communication between the sisters ceased. It would not be resumed until the end of the Civil War. In April 1866 Eliza and Mason fled to Montreal; Mason, who served as the Commissioner of the Confederate States to Great Britain, feared arrest by the Federal government. Anne made one visit to Montreal in September 1866 but the sisters did not see each other again until 1869 when President Andrew Johnson granted Mason amnesty. In the interim the sisters maintained a lively correspondence with Anne's letters chronicling her perception of life at Cliveden.

1866 was a difficult year for all the Philadelphia Chews. It began inauspiciously with the murder of a Germantown neighbor raising Sam's concern for his aunt's safety:

> Let me beg you to be more careful of your own life. For years past I have in vain pleaded to have the side and back doors kept locked, except when it is necessary that they should be open——and that this necessity should rule you only during the presence——the actual presence of some male member of the family....This terror makes me more unwilling than ever to be away from you. To tell the truth there is more than one reason to make the inevitable approaching changes in our separate living a matter of great care and concern to me. Oh how sorry I am that we cannot manage to be always at home together.[101]

Beyond this particular anxiety, Sam had begun to chafe under the demands of working for and living with his father-in-law. David Sands Brown's largess served, in Sam's mind, to make him inferior. It undermined his self-respect as the "master" of his household. As he confessed to his aunt, "My personal fear is that Mary will have a

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[99] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew [Cliveden] to Eliza Chew Mason, February 11, 1861. HSP, Chew Paper, Box 197.

[100] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew [Cliveden] to Eliza Chew Mason, May 2, 1861. HSP, Chew Paper, Box 197.

[101] Letter from Samuel Chew III (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 9, 1866. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

house of her own, when I will lose all individuality and be patronized by all her people as dependant."[102] In his struggle for independence, Sam considered the possibility of farming on a piece of Maryland land that he hoped, with Anne's help, to receive from his father. More of a realist than her nephew, Anne discouraged him in this venture. She believed that his appeal would be turned down and that even if granted, he would incur a debt that would be difficult to discharge.

Anne was all too familiar with the problems of debt. By 1866 ready cash had become so tight that she was unable to meet her current commitments including the salaries due her servants. She found herself in the uncomfortable position of, in effect, having to negotiate a loan from her cook, Hannah Welsh. Rather than forfeit the unpaid salary, Hannah agreed to accept 5% interest on the outstanding wages. For her part, Anne agreed to pay Hannah her salary as soon as she could. In the interim, Anne dreamed of the $100 forthcoming from her brother as his contribution to the household expenses.

The one bright spot in an otherwise difficult year was the birth, in early March, of David Sands Brown Chew. Mary's recovery was unusually slow and eventually Sam hired a wet nurse for the baby. To speed Mary's progress, Anne sent calves jelly, squab, and milk from the farm. "Mary's health has been very delicate with nervous prostration & debility & a tendency to take cold at every response," Anne wrote Eliza in June:

> Sam took her to Atlantic City last Wednesday week—hoping she would regain her strength. He will return tomorrow, leaving her, for the present, there with a nurse, as he is obliged to be in town to attend to business. The two eldest children have just had the measles & have not yet been able to come to the country. I think it is likely they will come home this week. The baby now more than three weeks [months] old is at Vanor with Mary's sister & aunt & a wet nurse. They will be here this week.[103]

Mary's interaction with her children was limited. Social custom and her health caused her to delegate their routine care to their nurse, Catherine, who was assisted by other household staff. There was no shortage of servants at the Brown family homes but Anne's staff at Cliveden was small. If the children were to be at Cliveden for any length of time, some accommodation for their care was necessary. Mary solicited Anne's help in encouraging one or more of the Cliveden maids to assist Catherine on a daily basis. As Mary outlined their duties, Anne's staff would be responsible for bringing the children their meals, making the beds, sweeping the room once a week, taking the children for walks, bringing their bath water and bathing them as necessary, and helping Mary care for them on Sunday.

The presence of children at Cliveden disrupted the servant's routine. Despite the confusion added to her household, Anne apparently delighted in having the children with her. "My little angel, David Jr., is the best & loveliest little fellow in the whole world," she wrote Mary. "He is perfectly well & as merry as a gig, improving

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[102] Letter from Samuel Chew III (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 17, 1866. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

[103] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Eliza Chew Mason (Montreal), June 10, 1866. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

every day in looks & in intelligence & in a thousand winning ways. He has been carefully attended to every day & is doing well in every way."[104]

[104] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Atlantic City, NJ), July 27, 1866. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

VII:"Making Cliveden Comfortable"

ANNE SOPHIA PENN CHEW BUILDS AN ADDITION, 1867-1868.

In many respects 1867 would be a trying year for Anne. During much of the winter, inclement weather kept her at Cliveden while Mary remained in town in concession to what she called her "shaky condition." Sam was one of the links between the two households spending many evenings at Cliveden while he tried to settle Henry Banning Chew's estate. A second link was Robert, the coachman, who carried letters back and forth on his twice weekly trips to the city. In these Mary shared the latest news of the children's activities:

> This morning Anne, looking at her spelling book, said "Did Aunt Anne get this for me? Dear Aunt Anne I always love her so much." And yesterday she said to my sister, "Aunt Mat, I go into the room between the doors for a little peace." "Piece of what?" Martha replied. "Oh piece of nothing——peace, peace and quiet." And it seems from Catherine's account that she retires every day at certain times to say her prayers.[105]
>
> I wish you were here now to see the baby [David]. He can creep all over the room & takes the greatest pleasure in investigating everything including the stove which seems to be an object of his greatest solicitation.[106]
>
> The baby not only creeps, but takes hold of chairs and stands alone independently![107]

Every letter contained an invitation for Anne to visit:

> The children are well and very lively and attractive. I have only to repeat my often echoed wish that you could see them. Can you not drive in and spend the morning with them? I am sure you would find them so sweet that it would not be a bore.[108]
>
> How happy I shall be if my dear little pets could banish the loneliness from your fireside——which I am sure they would do——could they be with you. Their little attractive ways are so bewitching....[109]

Anne's replies, though less frequent, address the same issues:

> How are the pets? I do want to see them so much but have not been able to accomplish my

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[105] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 11, 1867. HSP, Chew Paper, Box 185.

[106] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 15, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

[107] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 22, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

[108] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 4, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

[109] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 8, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

> project of spending an afternoon with them. I hope soon to do so. The bad weather & the bad roads & one thing and another have been in the way. How does the baby bear the loss of his [wet nurse] Durham? Does he take well to feeding?. I am afraid I shall not now be allowed to have him in my room or even to look at him except by snatches.[110]

Not until the weather moderated did the two households meet allowing Anne time with her grandnieces and grandnephew.

During the winter months Anne's normal routine of social activities was restricted, but she did have time to address the maintenance concerns of the property. One troubling issue was the fate of a stand of elm trees. Sam advocated cutting them down; Mary opposed the plan. As she explained to Anne:

> [Sam]...seem[s] to think me very obstinate in my opposition so that finally I referred him to you——saying that if you approve & wish to have them taken away I will say nothing against it. & I write that you may fully understand my meaning——though I confess it is not without a pang that I consent and think it would be nicer to cut them only half down & cover the trunks with ivy (if they must fall).[111]

Ultimately Anne sided with Sam in this matter and had the trees removed. "I am very glad to hear that you are thinning out the dead trees in the lawn, and making use of the land," wrote her nephew Ben. "It is the best thing possible not only for the good of all concerned but for the land."[112]

In mid-April Anne hired a young man to do some necessary yard maintenance. He spread manure on the lawn, hauled brush and trees from the yard to the wood pile, and carted earth to fill in the hollows on Sam's lot. On Sam's behalf, she contacted Curtis Smith about putting up a post and rail fence on Sam's ground. Early in May John Kelly started work on the garden. A reference in Anne's memorandum book to his coming "to attend to the fire in the garden" suggests that he burned off the previous year's growth to clear an area for planting.

Anne's main projects, as 1867 began, were to finish stabilizing the buildings and to make some needed improvements in the kitchen. The roof on the main house and the kitchen dependency had received little or no attention since her return to Cliveden a decade earlier. They were in such desperate need of repair that the project now extended beyond simple shingling to include replacing the chimney stacks, installing new down spouts and drains, plastering areas where leaks had occurred, and painting.

Work began in early May and extended into mid-August. Many of the artisans had worked at Cliveden before. Curtis Smith supplied the lumber and provided the carpentry work. His bills, the largest in the group, totalled $1,330.20. The chimneys had so deteriorated that repointing was inadequate. Anne engaged the firm of

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[110] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia), February 23, 1867. Cliveden Manuscripts (hereafter CLIV Mss.), Box 1.

[111] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), January 22, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

[112] Letter from Benjamin Chew (Cleveland) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), April 9, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

Wetherstine and Kaupp, brick masons, to dismantle the existing chimney stacks to the roof line and rebuild them. Once the chimneys were repaired, Curtis Smith plastered the kitchen and areas in the main house (including Sam and Mary's bed room which had been subject to leaks since the early 1860s). John B. Fite, a Philadelphia tinsmith, furnished downspouts for the front of the main house and for the kitchen; William Clinger of Montgomery County provided the necessary terra cotta water and drain pipes. Robert Shoemaker & Co. supplied the glazing materials and paint used by Alpheus Channon. Refurbishing the kitchen was a complicated project. To assure uninterrupted food service, Anne transferred the cooking from the kitchen dependency to the cellar of the main house. Her daily memoranda from mid-June detail some of the preparation that was necessary:

> Mary [a daily worker] was here helping to get ready the cellar to use for a kitchen. Margaret swept the cellar stairs; Robert whitewashed the sides; Isabella and Mary scrubbed them; Margaret washed the back cellar stairs; Isabella and Mary washed them. Today Fite's boys brought an elbow pipe and put up the kitchen stove in the cellar under the dining room.[113]

This disruption to the normal routine was bound to have adverse effects on her staff.

"I do not envy you your job of repairing the old house," Ben wrote to his aunt Anne as work began. "[It is] no childs play I assure you." Ben's prophetic words echoed in Anne's letter to her sister Eliza in September, after the work was completed:

> I have had a most trying summer.... I told Virginia when I last wrote to her, that I should be compelled to make some repairs to the house here—for its preservation—but I did not then think that it would keep me in confusion all summer. I have found however that one delay or another has prolonged the work as everybody says is always the case. I have the satisfaction of having a good roof over our heads now on the main building & the kitchen. The chimneys have been broken down to the roof & put up again to look as they were in old times. The outside of the house has been painted & the drains in front of the house put in some order. But the grounds are still littered with rubbish & the kitchen is undergoing some necessary repairs. In the meanwhile we are using the cellar beneath the dining room.
>
> That horrid old war has made everything so abominably dear that it costs twice or thrice as much to do anything now as it would have done in 1860. [114]

Anne wrote no more than the truth. The repairs dragged on much longer than anticipated and by the time the work was complete she had spent almost $2,000, including $140 for the purchase and installation of a new "American Kitchener" range. Anne had no way of knowing that this would be only the first building project at Cliveden that year.

As winter turned to spring, a new problem arose concerning the summer arrangements for Mary and the children at Cliveden. "Mary cannot be bothered with the care of the children & has a nurse who is able to relieve her entirely of the charge of them," Anne wrote Eliza. Although she considered the nurse, Catherine, "a valuable

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[113] Anne Sophia Penn Chew's memorandum book, May 14, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

[114] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to her sister Eliza Chew Mason (Montreal), September 4, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

creature in regard to her care of the children," she expressed concern that Catherine had "to be humored to the fullest extent of her humors—for every little worriment in the nursery or dread of losing the services of the head nurses throws poor Mary back & makes her nervous & sick."[115] Catherine had an established routine for her young charges which she expected would be unchanged at Cliveden. Mary outlined the daily activities for Anne:

> The present program for the summer is as follows (and I pray & beseach *[sic]* you to help me secure obedience thereto). 1st—Baby's [David] bath which H[annah] is to bring up & empty into the pail in [the] back entry [service stair]. Then children's breakfast—then walk out. Come in & Anne & Bess stay with us until Baby goes to sleep. Then H[annah] brings bath & children bathed & Bess put to sleep. Anne staying either with us or in the nursery. Three children [come] down stairs while servants eat dinner. Then three children adjourn to Nursery until 4 or 5 o'clock when Anne will walk or drive with us while Bessie & the baby go with Catherine. At tea time, three children go [to] the Nursery. Then Anne & Bess come down & stay with us until the baby goes to sleep—then [they go] off to bed. This program has been submitted to the higher powers [Catherine] and approved.[116]

In town, Catherine could call on others within the household staff, but at Cliveden there were no free hands to assist. Mary solicited Anne's help in resolving the difficulty.

> Would you be kind enough to ask of either Hannah or Margaret whether they will do these things. If they will not consent, please tell me because I should be vexed if after I go out there I should find them hanging back & unwilling to do anything. I am sorry that I have to give you so much trouble, but I think our comfort for the summer depends on a good understanding now.[117]

Her anxiety over the arrangements for the summer was further heightened by her concern about Catherine's reaction to the possible absence of a cook. Hannah, Anne's cook for many years, had asked to relinquish those duties and assume the less taxing position of housemaid. "What will Juno [Catherine] say if...we arrive at Cliveden & you are still minus a divinity in the kitchen," Mary wrote Anne. "I fear she will think I have been humbugging her and will depart instanter [instantly] in disgust—which would be inconvenient to say the least."[118] The problem of finding an acceptable cook was not easily resolved. Both Anne and Mary canvassed their friends for possible candidates. After several futile tries, Anne finally hired Maria Carnivan as her new cook on July 1st. The introduction of new personnel into her household went less smoothly than she hoped. Within

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[115] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Eliza Chew Mason (Canada), September 4, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[116] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew to Anne Sophia Penn Chew, May 20, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

[117] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), May 16, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

[118] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), May 20, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

the week tension between the new cook and Anne's long-time servants, Hannah Welsh and Margaret Cairns, reached crisis level. Anne recounted the quarrel in a letter to Sam:

> I received your telegram this morning about 11:30 & at once informed Catherine & Hannah & set to work to have washed such things (children clothes &c) as might be wanted to be ironed on Monday. Hannah undertaking & accomplishing the job, as other help could not be obtained & she being today under high pressure of steam, in consequence of a blow up which she & Margaret had this morning with the cook. I had a queer day between them. The cook overheard the other two (after she left their chamber this morning) laughing at her & as she says slandering her, but I don't believe she used that word understandingly). & of course she gave them a piece of her mind & the three were very mad at each other.[119]

So heated was the disagreement that the cook, Maria Carnivan, asked Anne's permission to inquire about an open position elsewhere. When she returned from her interview later in the day, she resigned receiving $2.50 for one week's wages as cook. Anne was forced to search for someone else to fill the position.

Anne's relations with her servants were mixed. She had a special fondness for James Smith, the black servant who had worked for the family since 1819. "I do not believe he has a thought of not living for a hundred years to come," she wrote Eliza.

> He is not as active as formerly but is always ready to fill a gap, makes the kitchen fire before Hannah gets down, cleans all the pots, fetches all the coal & makes it his business to collect as much kindling wood in the cellar as possible.[120]

Sam shared her affection for the long-time retainer. When John Moran came to photograph the house in April 1867, Sam arranged to have him take photographs of James on the front steps (Fig. 21). Smith was the only servant so honored. When Smith died in 1871, the newspaper carried this long obituary:

> James Smith, an old and faithful retainer of the Chew family, died suddenly on Tuesday last of apoplexy. James Smith was a colored man, and he entered the service of the Chew family in the year 1819, more than half a century ago, as a coachman. He was probably more than eighty years of age at the time of his death, and was remarkably vigorous and active for so old a man. To the Chew family he was much attached, and they in turn to him, which is evidenced by his long service. In temperament he was very mild and equable, and won the goodwill and friendship of all with whom he came in contact. He possessed many other good qualities calculated to make him the much esteemed old man that he was, and he is held in remembrance as being venerable and respected when many who are now middle-aged were youthful.
>
> James Smith was originally from Maryland, from the vicinity of Chestertown, and we believe bought his freedom. He was but a few months a widower at the time of his death. His all-absorbing desire was to be of service to the family to which he was so strongly attached, though this was not required of him——indeed it was their earnest wish that he should rest from his many years of labor. It is seldom in these days and in this country that we meet with servitors of so many years' standing, and of the faithful integrity of the venerable James Smith, for in the performance of his household duties he died like a soldier at his post. (He was found lying with

[119] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew to "Dear Nephew" [Samuel Chew], July 8, 1867. CLIV Mss., Box 1.

[120] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Eliza Chew Mason (Canada), October 12, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

> a basket of firewood by his side, suddenly called away.) There is a vacancy in the Chew mansion that cannot be filled....[121]

Such a lengthy notice was unusual for any servant. Clearly James Smith enjoyed a special place in the Chew family structure.

Anne was not so sanguine about her former cook, Hannah Welsh. Anne considered Hannah "overbearing to other servants, disinclined to obey directions."[122] She described Hannah to her sister Eliza as an extravagant person who remained in her employ in hopes of future inheritance. Anne observed that she was unlikely to leave the cook any money. In fact she "would be very glad to get another & better cook & one who would consider [her] comfort & convenience instead."[123] Despite Hannah's faults, real or imagined, she remained in Anne's employ through the 1880s.

During the repairs to the house, the tension among her domestic staff added unwanted confusion. As she confessed to her grandniece Ida Mason Dorsey:

> [Making repairs] is a hateful job in the best of times, and to me it has been most tiresome & inconvenient——chased hurriedly from one room to another by work people all summer. Then I have been minus in help. Hannah took it into her head to vacate her vocation & undertook to aid in the nursery & of course dissatisfaction ensued there. And in the mean while I have not had a regular cook & nothing went right & I have worked right hard myself in various ways. & I was obliged to take the cellar below the dining room for a kitchen while the kitchen was being repaired——which lasted many weeks & an everlasting growling was kept up by the servants.[124]

Lengthy repairs and ongoing servant problems disrupted the ordered pattern of Anne's domestic life. But these disturbances were minor compared to Mary's announcement in mid-May that unless Cliveden was made, as she termed it, "comfortable," she could not spend another winter[125] there without risking her life. She wrote Anne:

> Sam seems to be very anxious that I should return immediately to Germantown & I fear...I cannot do so while this cold & changing weather lasts. I only wish that it were in my power but I feel that such health as I possess is only mine by dint of the most careful prudence & I feel that a very little exposure would send me rapidly down hill. I wish if possible to avoid the condition in which I passed last winter, but I feel that either a few more colds or another baby

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[121] Newspaper clipping, undated but probably Jan 25 or 26, 1871. Included in a scrapbook of letters and clippings kept by Elizabeth Brown Chew; inscribed: "E.B.C./ Sep 1886/ Cliveden."

[122] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memorandum, June 20, 1868. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

[123] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Eliza Chew Mason (Canada), October 12, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[124] Draft of letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Ida Mason Dorsey [Maryland], September 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[125] Mary and Sam spent at least part of the winter of 1861-1862 at Cliveden. In subsequent years, Mary's health was deemed too delicate to spend the winters there.

> would bring it about, and I think it is very unlikely if I should be sick again that I would ever be better. But I cannot help thinking if I take care now, I may slowly regain my strength, although I suppose never to be as I once was. Sam also says that he thinks that rather than be away from him I might endure the few inconveniences of Cliveden. But dear Miss Chew, unless Cliveden is made like modern houses, comfortable, I cannot spend another winter there except at the risk of my life. Even my servants would leave me. ...I did not think you would be willing to have the house at Cliveden made what I call comfortable——which means furnace and carpets. I do not say these things for ill temper or crossness. I only say them because they are facts and I am not so strong as during the first winter after my marriage when I could stand draughts better than either you or our dear Margaretta.[126]

As upsetting as this letter was to Anne, Mary's position was valid. Her health had always been a matter of concern. She seemed to be unusually susceptible to colds and she took a long time to recover from her pregnancies, especially the most recent one. Beyond that, the house lacked many of the conveniences of contemporary living. In many respects, the amenities at Cliveden in the mid-1860s differed little from those available when the house was built a century earlier. From a purely practical point of view, Cliveden had definite drawbacks as a year-round home. The large, high-ceilinged rooms with cross ventilation, ideal for hot summer days, were difficult to heat effectively in the winter. Like most stone buildings, it adjusted slowly to changes in outside temperature. Once the exterior walls cooled down, the rooms stayed cool and even the several newly-installed stoves could not provide the type of uniform warmth possible with central heating. Mary did not mention the need for indoor plumbing although this may also have been a concern. It was available at her family's house at 1716 Walnut Street and Anne had taken the first steps in providing similar accommodations at Cliveden. By 1865 there was piped water in the kitchen and wash house dependencies, but it had not yet been introduced into the main house.

With considerable reluctance Anne considered her options in the difficult task of providing adequate heat for the house. She could install a furnace in the existing structure, but the presence of stone interior walls made it difficult to run the necessary pipe. Her other alternative was to build an addition and incorporate the new heating system in the initial construction. Anne opposed any changes that would alter the historic nature of the house. From her perspective, a new wing probably seemed the lesser of two evils. The obvious choice of location was on the north or rear facade of the house. There it would be less obtrusive and have less impact on the historic facade of the building——the side seen from Germantown Avenue and as visitors came up the drive.

It is not clear who designed the addition. Anne probably discussed the general needs with Sam before conferring with Curtis Smith, the carpenter already working on the kitchen and pantry modifications. She also consulted H. H. Buzby, a hardware supplier and builder, who eventually served as general contractor for the project.

The initial design for the first floor (Fig. 22) called for a single large room which backed up to the piazza

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[126] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), May 20, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 185.

(colonnade). It was separated from the dining room by a narrow, transverse passage that opened onto the piazza at one end and onto the yard behind the Parlor at the other. The second floor plan included a large chamber, a linen closet, and two small rooms for bath and water closet. Access to the second floor was from the stair hall landing and a small service stair.

Once the commitment to build had been made, Anne expected construction to proceed expeditiously. But as late as mid-July 1867 the final design had not been determined. On July 13 Anne wrote to Sam, who was vacationing at Cape Island, New Jersey, asking for his advice and approval of the revised designs.

> ...Smith & Busby have been taking up odds & ends of my time in going over the details of the new additions. & today Smith urges a...speedy decision on the following points in order to set the plaisterers *[sic]* to work in the kitchen. (In as much as the plaisterers are to leave places for the plumbing to pass & the boiler has to be ordered & they do not want to order the boiler until they, Smith & Busby, know for certain whether the back building is to go up or not, & if it is where the connection is to be--) So now I submit the following points to you & want a speedy reply. I presume the building "must" go up. And if so, will you be satisfied with the plan which I have slightly varied as you will see by the accompanying rough sketch. ...
>
> In regard to heating the back building, I can either have a furnace under the new building which will have a chimney or flue, & from the furnace I can have a register brought to the back part of the hall, thereby giving some heat throughout the hall, or I can have stoves & pipes to warm the new building. And then I suppose I "must" have a furnace in the cellar of the main building——as Mary requires *[illegible]* & passages. The expenses of the new building & appurtenances will probably reach $2500. I think that will cover the whole. And I presume the cost of the repairs to the main building & kitchen will reach $2000 or $2500. In all near $5000.[127]

Sam agreed that the new design offered a number of advantages. By the end of July Anne applied for the necessary construction permit and work began the next month.

The craftsmen involved in the project included many familiar artisans: Curtis Smith continued as the master carpenter; tinsmith John B. Fite supplied the flashing, gutters and down spouts; the glazing materials came from Benjamin H. Shoemaker; and Alpheus Channon painted the completed structure. There were also a number of firms new to Cliveden. Anne hired Charles Walker to excavate the cellar for the addition and dispose of the dirt. Walker also was reimbursed for quarrying stones, hauling brick and sill stones, digging a well and laying pipe. (Walker also plowed, dug potatoes and hauled leaves in the fall.) George May was the mason for the rubble-constructed wing. He began work on August 28th and continued until the end of November. In mid-October, Anne borrowed $200 from Mary to pay May on account; his final bill, presented in January 1868, was for an additional $436.66. Elias Cox supplied lime and sand for the Germantown firm of Walters & Ackey who did the interior plastering. Owen Hutton supplied "2000 salmon bricks and 1500 paving bricks" for the chimney stack and the brick room that enclosed the new furnace.

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[127] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Samuel Chew (Columbia House, Cape Island, NJ), July 13, 1867. CLIV, Doc X 266, X 271, X 272, and X 273.

Anne's records for the project, although less detailed than those kept by her grandfather during initial construction or those of her father during repurchase renovations, indicate that the addition took almost eight months to complete. During that time the household routine was disrupted. Besides the constant parade of workmen, there was noise, dust, debris and confusion. From Anne's perspective, the house was "being run over by workers." As she wrote her sister, "I am worried to death by the carpenters and masons who have not done with me yet & who talk me out of everything I want & will pester me to have things done that I don't fancy at all."[128]

Anne tried to make the best of an unwanted situation, but her dissatisfaction with the project as a whole is evident in a letter to her grandniece Ida Mason Dorsey written shortly after the building began:

> I have found myself compelled (called upon) to undertake a work which I dislike more than I can express——which is neither more nor less than putting up an addition to the house for the sake of Mary's accommodation in the way of bath arrangements & such likes. I have always wanted these accommodations myself but should have lived & died without them rather than tear away the old landmarks as I must do to put them up. But there seemed to be no help for it. Mary's health is so delicate that she cannot be comfortable here without various changes which I shall be compelled to attempt.[129]

Anne's domestic staff coped as well as they could. But the inconvenience of the temporarily relocated kitchen and the general confusion that accompanies any building or remodeling only added to the unease of both staff and family. Sam and Mary and the children escaped to Cape May for a brief respite in late August and then went down to Epsom while Anne remained at Cliveden to supervise the project.

The new wing (Figs. 23 and 24) was heated by a coal-fired "air tight radiator heater" purchased from Daniel Mershon & Sons of Philadelphia. Hot air produced by the furnace was fed into the two large rooms, the room behind the dining room, and the upstairs bathroom through ducts and hot air registers. Mershon & Sons also installed the duct work for a circular floor register in the stair hall of the main house. Mershon's bill of $483.80 ($300 for the furnace and $143.80 for the installation and duct work) came with a written guarantee:

> We agree to keep the heater in repair and in perfect order for the term of five years from the date of the purchase of the furnace without any charge for such repairs or cleaning. [On reverse] We agree to heat the back building or new addition to Miss Chew *[sic]* house without any expense to her in case the heater does not give sufficient heat for the same.[130]

The heat the furnace provided was more than sufficient for Anne's needs. She would later note in her memoranda: "My house is kept too hot & thus is a wasteful profusion of coal used. Those who dislike hot rooms

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[128] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Eliza Chew Mason (Canada), October 12, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[129] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to her niece Ida Mason Dorsey [Maryland] , undated but probably September, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

[130] Bill dated December 31, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 201.

choose to sit in the warmest room and do not choose to resort to one that is cool."[131]

The new wing included a water closet, tub and shower. Between early November 1867 and late February 1868, the Philadelphia plumbing firm of Alburger & Wood provided the fixtures——the water closet and china bowl ($22), the lead-lined tank for the water closet ($30), and a copper-lined tub ($38)——and the fittings for the bathroom facilities at a total cost of $365.14. A well newly dug by Charles Walker provided the necessary water for the water closet. Piped hot water for the tub and shower came from the boiler attached to the new kitchen range.

In another concession to modern technology, Anne had gas lighting installed in the new addition. Her search for appropriate fixtures in April 1868 took her to the Philadelphia shops of William F. Miskey and Cornelius & Co., premier manufacturers and retailers of gas lighting fixtures. In the end, she bought a three-light chandelier, a two-light pendant, and nine bracket fixtures through Alburger & Wood who also supplied the 170 feet of gas pipe necessary for the installation. The fixtures were hung in May 1868: "This morning Alburgers men brought out gas fixtures and put them up in Mary's 2 rooms, the collonade *[sic]* room and in [the] stair landing and water closet."[132] The cost of the eleven fixtures, the shades and globes, and assorted hardware was $70.85.

The construction of the addition was completed by March of 1868. An insurance survey taken by William Green for the Franklin Fire Insurance Company on March 6, 1868, noted the particulars of the addition.[133] The project was costly, totaling about $5000 in addition to the $2000 already expended for repairing the roof and redoing the kitchen. Sam offered to share the expense, as Anne explained to Eliza:

> In projecting the addition of bath arrangements and its concomitants &c, Sam proposes to help me by bearing a part or the whole of such expenses as I may encounter for Mary's convenience & that of the children. But I do not think that would do——at all, at all. Besides I do not think he is a bit better able to encounter the expense than I am. He is always at his wit's end for money——as every body else in the world is.[134]

Sam's contribution is not recorded. In the end, Anne would note in her memorandum book for May 25, 1868, "repairs to my house in 1867 exceeded my income so I owe no U. S. income tax."

With the wing finished, the next task was to ready the new rooms for Sam and Mary. In anticipation of their arrival, Anne had the furnishings moved from their former chamber to their new quarters. Early in June Anne noted that an unnamed vendor "was here putting up white linen blinds to the 5 windows in the 2 rooms [Sam and Mary's chamber on the second floor and the room below designated the "school room"] in the new

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[131] Anne Sophia Penn Chew's memoranda, October 27, 1878. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

[132] Anne Sophia Penn Chew's memoranda, May 19, 1868. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

[133] See Appendix __, Historic Structures Report prepared by Martin Jay Rosenblum and Associates, 1992.

[134] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Eliza Chew Mason (Canada), September 4, 1867. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 197.

building @ $2.50 each plus cost of going and coming." Anne also bought a new blind for the gallery [second floor hall of the main building] which cost $3.50. The carpeting mentioned by Mary as a prerequisite for her comfort was not added until 1870.

The new wing brought comfort and convenience, but also added to the responsibilities of Anne's relatively small domestic staff. Sam and Mary and their children spent more time at Cliveden and brought their servants with them. The increased number of people in the house meant additional rooms to clean, extra laundry to do, and more mouths to feed. The incorporation of the new mechanical systems (forced air heating, indoor plumbing, and gas lighting) changed the way the house functioned by reducing the amount of time servants had to devote to those specific activities. The greatest time saving came in the areas of personal hygiene and lighting. No longer was it necessary to heat bath water and carry it long distances to the tub. The new gas lights greatly increased the amount of illumination in a room. (Each burner produced the equivalent of twenty-four times the light of a single candle).[135] Gas lamps did not require daily filling or cleaning; nor did they give off smoke adding to the task of routine cleaning. The new heating system had less impact than the lighting on the activities of the servants since only the stair hall benefitted from it directly. Servants still had to care for the stoves and fireplaces in most of the rooms in the main house.

Despite Anne's misgivings about the need for the new wing, it apparently met Mary's requirement for "comfort" and served to increase the time Sam and his family spent at Cliveden. This pleased Sam and also pleased Anne.

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[135] Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett, *At Home, The American Family 1750-1870,* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990, p. 146.

VIII: "That most historic spot"

SAMUEL CHEW III ASSURES CLIVEDEN'S PLACE IN HISTORY, 1870-1887

One of the dominant events in Philadelphia in the 1870s was the Centennial Exposition, which combined the celebration of America's industrial progress with the commemoration of the country's (and the city's) Revolutionary history. Organizers hoped the Centennial would bring together the North and South. By citing the Revolution as a lesson in unity, they sought to emphasize the commonality of the country's colonial past. They took advantage of the number of colonial and Federal houses in and near the city to reinforce that sense of the past.

Samuel Chew III was not a historian, but he was aware of the value of emphasizing the historical features of Cliveden.[136] Here was the site of one of the city's most important Revolutionary battles. Viewed from the perspective of a century, Cliveden became, not a symbol of American defeat, but a monument to the patriots who fought courageously and gave their lives for the cause. The house had begun to assume the status of shrine when Lafayette visited in July 1825 during his tour of Revolutionary battle sites. By focusing on the house in its Revolutionary context, Sam could minimize the fact that his great grandfather—Benjamin Chew, the Chief Justice—was not a "patriot" but had been arrested by the Committee of Safety of the Continental Congress as a representative of the proprietary government. Benjamin Chew could assume his place in history as a respected lawyer and jurist who served both the colonial and the early Federal governments of Pennsylvania with distinction. Cliveden and the Chief Justice provided the tangible link with the colonial past.

Sam was not the first Chew to recognize the power of Cliveden as a symbol of Revolutionary history. His grandfather, Benjamin Chew, Jr., had collected relics from the Battle of Germantown found on the grounds. He (or possibly Blair McClenachan) preserved the original front doors of the house showing the bullet holes made by the American troops during the battle. (The doors were stored in the cellar until about the middle of the nineteenth century when they were sold by Benjamin Chew III.) Over the years Ben Jr. gave away some of the cannon balls and bullets to interested visitors. John Fanning Watson, the Philadelphia antiquarian and author of *Annals of Philadelphia* who visited Cliveden in 1841, left with such treasures, reported to be among the last in the house.[137] Anne also collected historical items in a modest way, keeping artifacts that turned up in the fields. But her primary interest was in the house itself which she viewed as the most important relic.

Sam's campaign to assure Cliveden's place in history was multi-faceted. His first efforts lay in recording the site photographically. Some views had been taken in the 1850s,[138] but during the 1860s a number of

[136] I am indebted to Jennifer Anderson-Lawrence for sharing her research notes for "The Colonial Revival at Cliveden," an MA thesis for the University of Delaware, (May, 1990). Material for this chapter is based in part on this research.

[137] See Deborah D. Waters, "Philadelphia's Boswell: John Fanning Watson," *PMHB*, 98 (January 1974), pp. 42-43, 75 quoting J. F. Watson, "Historical Incidents in Germantown," HSP, Dreer Collection 184, p. 82.

[138] There are photographs of the kitchen dependency and colonnade by F. D. B. Richards (1853); the front facade by

professional photographers recorded the property concentrating on the exterior of the house. By the mid-1860s Sam was in the habit of distributing photographic "house portraits" to interested correspondents.

The second phase of his campaign was to try to recover as many artifacts associated with Cliveden as he could. In 1864 he tried, unsuccessfully, to repurchase the original front doors of the house damaged during the battle. They had been sold to a Washington, D.C. collector, Mr. Prowalter. Sam also bought a Revolutionary War bayonet from C. Colne, in Washington, who served as a contact with Prowalter in the negotiations:

> I will send you the bayonet by Express in a few days. ... I will see what I can do in regard to the Battle doors with Prowalter(?). I am very sorry that he has not kept his word. I will be pleased to receive the Photograph [of the house] whenever it is ready."[139]

Sam's effort to reclaim the battle doors were redoubled when they were sent to Philadelphia for an exhibit of historical memorabilia held at the National Museum at Independence Hall during the Centennial. When the exhibit concluded in 1883 they were returned to Sam at Cliveden rather than to Prowalter.[140] For many years the doors were displayed, on appropriate occasions, in Cliveden's large reception hall along with guns and bayonets supposedly used in the Battle of Germantown.[141] Prowalter also sold Sam several silver objects that had belonged to Benjamin Chew, Jr., including "a plated epergne, two plated nests of salad bowls, and 3 plated cups."[142]

Sam's interest in Cliveden's history extended beyond artifacts associated with the Battle to include family items of all sorts. In May 1876, Beverly Chew, of Simons and Chew, brokers, in New York, notified Sam that he had discovered a large collection of autographed letters relating to Philadelphia in the shop of J. B. Sabin & Co.

> Among them are many curious, and, I should say from a very hurried examination, valuable documents to you as many of the papers are letters to and answers from Benj. Chew of Philadelphia. Some of the letters are between your ancestor and Thomas Penn and one has the endorsement "from Thos. Penn shewing *[sic]* his great regard for me." Sabin tells me he purchased most of the documents some years ago from a man who claimed to own them—but I strongly suspect that some, if not all, belong by rights to you and by some one have been taken from your family papers and sold. Numbers of them relate to the early

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James E. McClees (summer, 1856); and another view of the front facade by an unidentified photographer (February, 1857).

[139] Letter from C. Colne, Second Comptroller's Office, Treasury Department (Washington, DC) to Samuel Chew (Cliveden), December 3, 1864. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 221.

[140] National Museum, Curator's Records, 1877-1890, Independence National Historical Park (INHP), 20 October 1883. See Jennifer Anderson-Lawrence, "The Colonial Revival at Cliveden," MA thesis, University of Delaware (May 1990), p. 27.

[141] The battle doors and a number of other historic items were lost in 1970 in a fire that destroyed a portion of the Cliveden carriage house where they were stored.

[142] From notes on family silver in the Account Book of Samuel Chew. CLIV Mss., SC3.

> Maryland colony and are really valuable not only for their age but for their historical interest.[143]

Sam purchased the material. In January 1877 Beverly Chew advised him of another lot of Chew family documents:

> Messrs J. Sabin & Sons of this city have another lot of the correspondence of Benjamin Chew of Phil. consisting chiefly of business matters and foreign letters——but some of a personal nature. I have not examined them particularly but suppose you had better make Mr. S an offer for them——feeling sure that he will sell them for a nicely priced sum. These papers I understand come from one O Brien——but who he is or where he got them I am unable to learn. I think he has still more in his possession and...will no doubt offer them for sale.[144]

Sabin sent the documents on approval, but Sam returned them considering them not germane to his mission. Beverly Chew recommended that Sam maintain his contact with Sabin and offered this advice:

> You might mention the general class of documents you wish to obtain and I am sure they will keep your order in their way. They generally notify me whenever anything in which "Chew" occurs comes in their way and I will myself keep a lookout for you.[145]

Sam also solicited family objects from his relations including his brother Ben:

> There are, I have no doubt, in your possession many articles of furniture and of personal use, that you may be willing to dispose of, and for which I would treat with you on fair terms.
>
> Perhaps you will make a list of them, and bring the list and the miniature and map to my office——44 South Front Street on Saturday next——Dec 22d at Noon.[146]

Sam was particularly interested in retrieving the miniature portrait of his grandfather, Benjamin Chew, Jr., that had been painted in London in 1784-1786 and the copy of the 1767 survey by Mason and Dixon establishing the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania which Chief Justice Benjamin Chew had signed.[147]

Concurrent with Sam's search for family articles and documents was his growing interest in genealogy. In the mid 1870s he contacted A. E. Harrison of London in an effort to try to collect whatever material was available there. He was still following leads supplied by Harrison when he and several of his older children visited

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[143] Letter from Beverly Chew, of Simons & Chew, Brokers, (New York) to Samuel Chew (Philadelphia), May 25, 1876. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 224.

[144] Letter from Beverly Chew, Simons & Chew, Brokers (New York) to Samuel Chew (Philadelphia), January 11, 1877. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 224.

[145] Letter from Beverly Chew, Simons & Chew, Brokers (New York) to Samuel Chew (Cliveden), March 2, 1877. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 224.

[146] Letter from Samuel Chew to Benjamin Chew, Esqr. (1208 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia), copy made December 30, 1883. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 225.

[147] Benjamin Chew (1830-1885) presented his great-grandfather's copy of the original Mason-Dixon survey map to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on November 8, 1856. The map on display at Cliveden is a copy made by Charles Hollis about that time.

England in 1881. Sam initiated his own search for genealogical information in America by contacting Chews in Maryland and Virginia. With their help he was able to trace the family back to seventeenth century Virginia. "Tell Cousin Janie that I have documentary evidence that her ancestor John Chew was a member of the Virginia Assembly in 1623," he wrote Anne in 1873, "& so on to 16 forty & something. He had lands granted to him for military services and from bringing over 60 servants from Englishmen & Englishwomen."[148] While Sam could boast of a line of ancestors dating back to the earliest years of America's history, his hopes of linking the family coat of arms to his great grandfather's services to the colony during the Revolution proved fruitless. As his collateral cousin in Baltimore, S. C. Chew, pointed out:

> As to the City of Philadelphia having conferred the arms on your g[rea]t gr[and]father, that I take to be an absolute impossibility. The City might bestow a medal or special honorary privileges, but it would not have usurped the functions of the Heralds' College.[149]

Sam's great coup in assuring Cliveden's place in history came when, in 1873, he engaged Edward Lamson Henry (1841-1919), a genre painter with an interest in history, to record the two most significant events at the site—the Battle of Germantown (October 4, 1777) and the reception for the Marquis de Lafayette held at Chew House (July 20, 1825). Sam had been introduced to Henry's work by Frank Etting, a friend and Chairman of the Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall. Two years earlier, Etting had commissioned Henry to paint a representation of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The result apparently impressed Sam.

It was Henry's practice to use photography to record the settings for his pictures and to provide as much realism as possible through color and detail. He accepted Sam's invitation to visit Cliveden where he took reference photographs of the exterior of the house and of the large entrance hall.

Henry chose to begin with the Lafayette reception. The relative proximity of the event meant that there were eye witnesses or descendants of eye witnesses who had heard stories from their ancestors. This offered greater opportunity for accuracy in detail. Sam supported Henry's plan and enlisted the help of his Aunt Anne in documenting the scene.

> I have ordered a painting of La Fayette's reception at the Battle Ground and I beg you to write me a description of where he stood, where other people stood, who introduced them, where people gathered, where you stood, who were present, how dressed &c, &c. Do not fail me dearest Aunt or my picture will be only an imaginative picture and that I do not want.[150]

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[148] Letter from Samuel Chew to Anne Sophia Penn Chew [Cliveden], undated by probably late 1873. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 228.

[149] Letter from S. C. Chew (Baltimore) to Samuel Chew (Philadelphia), November 8, 1877. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 224.

[150] Letter from Samuel Chew (Philadelphia) to Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden), undated [spring 1873]. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 228.

He also wrote Major P. R. Freas, the Editor of the *Germantown Telegraph*, in March 1873:

> I...beg you to write a line in my behalf—to approve of the work I am at—to say that the picture [the "Lafayette Reception"] to be historic should contain portraits of many of those who were present and to suggest to our old residents (who are slow in advancing in a thing of this kind) the real kindness it would be for them, at once, to communicate to me their recollections of La Fayette's reception, and to offer me the use of the pictures of their relations who were present.
>
> It would gratify me to have this picture shew some of the old worthies of our old town. I think I have heard that Abraham Keyser was there. I wonder whether there is a portrait of him anywhere. I want to have some real portraits of some of the Survivors of the Revolution—and others—younger men who were there and afterwards became identified with the old Borough in its progress.[151]

Sam assembled images (miniatures, silhouettes, and paintings) of as many of the participants as possible to assist the artist.

Henry completed *The Lafayette Reception* (Fig. 25) by early 1874. The painting was exhibited at the National Academy of Design in New York later that year and was shown in the National Museum at Independence Hall as part of the Centennial Exposition.[152] Henry's overall design followed the tradition of such well-known history paintings as John Trumbull's *The Resignation of General Washington, December 23, 1783* (1822-24), Baron Jolly's *Franklin in the Court of France, 1778* (1853), and Daniel Huntington's 1865 canvas entitled *The Republican Court in the Time of Washington, or Lady Washington's Reception Day*. (Sam purchased a print of the Huntington painting in 1867.) Henry meticulously reproduced the architectural setting and the paintings on the wall, but a certain amount of artistic license was inevitable in depicting the figures. In part this was done to conform to the tradition of history paintings where dramatic effect was all important. It also reflected Henry's reliance on portraits and silhouettes since he could not paint the figures from life. Germantown artist George Cochran Lambdin saw *The Lafayette Reception* when it was exhibited in New York and described it to Sam as "a perfect miracle of minute labor, and...no doubt is entirely true to the fact." It was his opinion that Sam would get "the utmost satisfaction from the picture."

> In June 1874, Henry advised Sam that he would be sending him the completed painting:
> How shall I send over the Painting and Frame—by Express and to Germantown? I will take the plate glass over in my hand for fear of breakage and damaging the picture & frame. I have been having it photographed and putting in also the portrait of Mr. Etting Senior besides going over places which I thought needed retouching. The picture is so rich in color that it was very hard to make a successful copy [photograph] of it compared to more grey in tone pictures. I would like to have it reach you by Sunday so you can see it and judge of it while I am with you so I will take over my paints in case anything is needed. You must not forget, however, that

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[151] Letter from Samuel Chew (1716 Walnut St, Philadelphia) to Major P. R. Freas, (Germantown), March 14, 1873. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 228.

[152] Elizabeth McCausland, *The Life and Work of Edward Lamson Henry N. A., 1841-1919*, (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc. and Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 168.

> some of the principal faces in this picture were painted from black silhouettes and the filling in of the faces and the color was left entirely to the imagination. So deal as lenient[ly] as possible under the circumstances.[153]

Henry was already at work on the Battle painting in the fall of 1874, constructing his design from photographs he had taken at the site and from reports in a number of published sources.[154] In December 1874 he requested a meeting with Sam at Cliveden to confirm some details:

> I came over to get a few points in regard to the Battle picture. I have been painting on it for some time and it is in now such a state that I would like to ask you a few questions out at your place in regard to where the 4 statues stood in front of the house and one or two other things. Then if you will point out those same old statues (laying around somewhere evidently now on the place) I will make a sketch. That is all & not take up any more time than I mentioned above from you. Then I will look around and refresh myself on a number of little details. ...I am making a capital picture of this I think—I came over now for fear a deep snow might hide what I'm looking for.... I called at the State House this pm & there was my old familiar friend [*The Lafayette Reception*] in the case. It is in a capital light but I must clean off the glass as it is awfully dusty.[155]

Unlike the colorful *Lafayette Reception*, Henry chose to illustrate *The Battle of Germantown* (Fig. 26) in a series of gray tones. He finished this second painting early in 1875 and it joined *The Lafayette Reception* on exhibit at the National Academy of Design before travelling to Philadelphia for display at the National Museum. Henry considered *The Battle of Germantown* one of his most important works.

The two paintings caused a sensation. William Astor was so impressed that he contacted Henry requesting a painting of Cliveden "with some episode of the battle going on." Henry wrote to Sam requesting permission to comply:

> If you grant it, which I [do] not doubt you will, I will go over & make some notes & sketches & get some more photographs. I wouldn't paint the same thing but change it entirely. it's too tiresome to go all over such a thing again. It is so curious he wanted a picture of your house, but as he wouldn't have anything else I will of course be pleased to paint it...if you are willing.[156]

Sam consented. Henry completed the new version of "The Battle of Germantown" for Astor in 1881. (The

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[153] Letter from Edward Lamson Henry (New York) to Samuel Chew (Philadelphia), June 17, 1874. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 224.

[154] E. L. Henry's list of "Authorities used with reference to the Painting of the *Attack upon Judge Chew's House during the Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777*" cited the following sources: Washington's Official Dispatch; J. Pickering's letter, 1823; Days' Penn Historical Collections 1840; Marshall's United States; Henry D. Dawson's Battle of the United States; Wescott's History of Philadelphia; Lossing's Field Book of the American Revolution; and others. April, 1875. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 224.

[155] Letter from Edward Lamson Henry (Philadelphia) to Samuel Chew (Philadelphia), December 8, 1874. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 224.

[156] Letter from Edward Lamson Henry (New York) to Samuel Chew (Philadelphia), December 24, 1877. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 224.

present location of this painting is unknown but may still be owned in the Astor family.)

The Henry paintings reached a wide audience through publication in books and national magazines in the years that followed. No recounting of Philadelphia's Revolutionary history was complete without a picture of "Chew House." In the rush of publications on colonial topics that accompanied the Centennial, Henry's paintings inspired other artists to create scenes reflecting colonial events. Popular subjects included the friendship of Peggy Chew and Major John André and the famous Mischianza Ball, the most important social event held in Philadelphia during the British occupation of the city (see Fig. 10). Although the Mischianza had been described in meticulous detail in contemporary newspapers, at least one publication, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for May 1876, illustrated the event with a line drawing based on Henry's *The Lafayette Reception.*[157]

Sam achieved his goal. Cliveden was recognized as a historical monument. It lacked only ancestral portraits to complete the transformation to a shrine. Sam attempted to remedy this deficiency by commissioning James Reid Lambdin (1807-1889) to paint a portrait of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew. Lambdin's task was not an easy one because the only image from life was a small silhouette. Lambdin painted two versions of the portrait. In one the Chief Justice appeared in a distinctive hat (see Fig. 1); the other showed him hatless in the more traditional eighteenth century pose. Lambdin was not completely satisfied with either portrait, because as his son George wrote Sam, "he says that what he copied does not much accord with your word picture."[158] The commission for a portrait of Sam's grandfather, Benjamin Chew, Jr., went to Lambdin's son, George Cochran Lambdin (1830-1896), who copied the eighteenth century miniature (see Fig. 14).

As interest in Cliveden grew, Sam continued to distribute pictures of the house. It is significant that, rather than contemporary photographs, the images he chose were those of the E. L. Henry paintings.

While Sam's interest in history was narrowly focused on Cliveden and the Chew family, Mary's antiquarian activities took place in the wider sphere of the Independence Hall restoration project chaired by Sam's friend Frank Etting. Etting envisioned not only returning the Assembly Room to its original appearance but also setting up a "museum with portraits and relics illustrating the different epochs in American History"[159] in the courtroom across from the Assembly Room. He invited Mary to serve on the Board of Lady Managers for the project. In February 1875, the Women's Centennial Executive Committee asked Mary, along with Anna D. Scott and Catherine K. Meredith, to organize a cooperative exhibit of historical material that would emphasize the domestic aspects of American life. The ladies borrowed objects from family and friends and assembled them in a "New England Kitchen," set in a reproduction log cabin on the Centennial Exposition grounds. After the Exposition closed, Mary continued her association with the restoration of Independence Hall and the National

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[157] See Rebecca Harding Davis, "Old Philadelphia," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, May 1876, p. 877.

[158] Letter from George C. Lambdin (Germantown) to Samuel Chew, April 13, 1874. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 228.

[159] See Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past*, New York: G. Putnam's Sons, 1976, pp. 81-82.

Museum. Later she would be active in efforts to save "Stenton," the country seat of James Logan in lower Germantown, from demolition. Her association with "Stenton" continued until her death.

Anne took little part in Sam's antiquarian ventures and even less in Mary's activities. She visited some of the buildings at the Centennial Exposition soon after it opened but spent only a minimal amount of time there. Her energies were directed to the daily running of Cliveden. She supervised the domestic staff, hired the workmen to repair the buildings and maintain the mechanical systems, and directed farm and garden activities.

In 1870, the staff on Anne's payroll included James Cassiday (or Cassidy), a gardener who also looked after the cattle; William Brownlee, a second gardener whom Anne described as "old and not strong, pokey;" Hannah Welsh, the cook; James Smith; Mary Kane, a chamber maid; and Mary Anne Hemsley, a second maid hired in late September. Mary supplied the funds for at least three additional servants: Catherine, the children's nurse, and two other maids, Ellen Gallagher and Hannah Allen. Sam's specific contribution to paying the domestic staff is not recorded for 1870, but in other years he paid for at least one coachman and for many of the casual laborers hired for planting and harvesting.

An unusual feature of Mary's contribution to Cliveden's household expenses was her conspiracy with Anne to mislead Catherine about the source of the funds for two of the maids. "Mary supplies the money for Ellen's wages," Anne noted in her memorandum of February 5, 1870, "& I hand it to her in order to humor Catherine with the idea that Ellen is my chambermaid."[160] After paying Hannah Allen her wages in June, Anne noted that Mary "is to return [to] me this amount as she chooses to pay this girl [al]though she has the name of being my chambermaid in order to suit the caprice of her nurse Catherine."[161] One wonders why this deception was necessary. Could it be that Mary wished to avoid displeasing Catherine for fear she might be left with sole charge of her children? Earlier she had gone to extraordinary lengths to mollify the nurse.

Inside the house, servant activity fell into expected patterns: cleaning, food preparation and serving, tending children, and laundry. The daily running of the house followed the advice put forth in the housekeeping manuals of the day such as *Mrs. [Isabella] Beeton's Book of Household Management* (1861) and *The American Woman's Home; or Principles of Domestic Science...* (1869) by Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe.

In addition to the daily routine, there were a myriad of annual or semi-annual tasks better handled with outside help. By the 1870s, most of the rooms at Cliveden had either wall to wall carpeting or smaller rugs and runners. On the advice of "Mrs. Beeton," floor coverings were to be taken up and beaten at least once a year. Anne's records show that James Cassiday, the gardener, and John Kavanaugh (or Cavanaugh), the coachman, had this activity added to their other duties in 1871. That same year she hired several women (including Mrs. McMahon and Mrs. Crow) to come in at least once a year to mend and put down the carpets; they also washed and laid the floor cloths used in many rooms to protect the carpets.

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[160] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memoranda, February 5, 1870. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

[161] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memoranda, June 1, 1870. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

Charles Davis and his sons Alfred and John swept the chimneys in the house each summer. Annually, workers from Daniel Mershon's Sons took down the furnace for the new wing, cleaned it, and reassembled it. There was a veritable parade of plumbers to the house to repair a hydrant, mend the boiler, install a new kitchen sink, repair the water closet, fix the "Kitchener" stove, or repair the gas lighting fixtures.

Relatively few new furnishings were introduced into the house in the 1870s and 1880s. In January 1870 Sam purchased colorfully striped "Venetian" carpet for the hall, the gallery, and the stairs from Orne & Co. in Philadelphia. Early in February, Philadelphia upholsterer John Gilroy came out to Cliveden to lay a protective floor cloth over the new carpet. At the same time he altered the carpet at the front door. In the fall, Sam ordered $137.38 worth of new carpeting for Ben's room, probably the bedroom over the dining room.

The following year, 1871, Anne ordered new wallpaper for the dining room from the firm of Howell, Finn & Co. of Philadelphia. The order consisted of eight and a half pieces of wallpaper identified simply as "dining room," two and a half pieces of border, and four pieces of "marble" (of which only two were hung). The description in the bill offers little indication of the design. The wallpaper and the labor to hang it cost Anne a total of $29.15.

In 1874 Sam purchased a 300-piece service of blue and white Canton china from Tyndale & Mitchell, "Importers of China, Glass & Crockery Ware," 707 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. The set, which was used as the everyday service by later generations of Chews, is still displayed in the dining room at Cliveden. It included dining and soup plates, deep and flat dessert plates, meat dishes, covered dishes, a soup tureen, sauce tureens and stands, sauce boats, pickle dishes, a salad bowl, fruit baskets and stands, nappies (small sauce dishes with sloping sides), and vegetable dishes. Sam paid $220 for the service, a bargain over the $250 price originally quoted by the firm.

Anne ordered new loop-pile Brussels carpet for the Parlor in August 1875 from J. F. & E. B. Orne of Philadelphia, the firm that had supplied carpeting to Cliveden earlier in the decade. Appropriate designs for the time suggest that there was a patterned field with a contrasting border. The 27- to 36-inch wide strips of the field were sewn together and the border attached to form a carpet that ran wall to wall. The total cost for field, border, assembly, and lining was $158.13. Anne also bought a much smaller strip of Brussels carpet that may have been used for protection in front of the hearth.

After work in the parlor was completed, there was a hiatus in major redecorating. The next significant expenditure for furnishings was $185.50 paid to the upholsterers Charles and Edward Vollmen of Philadelphia in January 1882 for "repairing chairs and sofa." This furniture was the large mahogany sofa in the parlor and a set of nine upholstered back stools that Chief Justice Benjamin Chew used in his South Third Street town house. (By family tradition, this furniture was originally owned by Governor John Penn and was acquired by the Chief Justice in 1771 shortly after he purchased the town house from Penn.) As part of the "repair," Vollmen installed a set of coiled wire springs in the sofa to give added comfort. A photograph of the parlor (Fig. 27) taken about 1895 shows the newly upholstered sofa with its "diamond button" cushions.

Much of the construction activity at Cliveden in the 1870s and 1880s was ongoing maintenance. John Gavin painted the gutters and the roofs of the new building and the colonnade in 1871. Local carpenter H. H. Buzby, who also served as Anne's general contractor on most major projects, made some shelves for the chicken coop in 1870. Anne was raising chickens for the eggs; any surplus beyond the family's needs at Cliveden was sent to market. This activity was so successful that the "chicken yard in the woods" was extended in 1881. Curtis Smith provided the lumber and built the new structure. The following year, the chicken yard was modified again. Buzby billed Anne for eleven-and-a-quarter day's additional work on the chicken house in February and March.

The wash house dependency had received little attention beyond minor maintenance in the period following the construction of the north wing and by 1878 needed repair. Anne authorized Buzby to install flashing on a section of the building and repair the wash benches. Four years later, between April and July 1882, she hired Buzby for more extensive work on the same building. He billed Anne $160.78 for lumber, hardware (locks, pulls, hinges, latches, and shutter fastenings) and window fittings (sash weights, pulleys, and cords), for twelve-and-three-quarter days labor, and for payments made to a bricklayer and a plasterer.

There were three other major construction projects during the period. In the first and most costly, Anne engaged Buzby to build a small house on Musgrave Street on property she owned in what is now Chew Park. This 2½ story, 36-foot by 20-foot "cottage in the woods," as Anne termed it, was a tenant house for her gardener, Charles Smith. Work began in May 1880. Buzby supervised the project. His charges included the cost of the building permit, digging the cellar, lumber and carting, carpentry work ($917.61), gas pipe, hauling, and the flashing and gutters supplied by a tinsmith. He subcontracted the masonry and brickwork to Daggers and White ($350.50). The millwork (doors, sash, frames, shutters, and moldings) came from Watson & Robinson's Germantown saw and planing mill ($91.50); P. M. Barber supplied doors and moldings ($31.91). James M. Vance & Co. of Philadelphia supplied the hardware. John Armstrong provided the gas fittings. Jacob Gonaver of the Germantown firm of Gonaver and (Isaac) Dewees was the plasterer and John W. Bardsley glazed and painted the house. It was an expensive project costing $1415.78. Anne's payments to Buzby were spread from June to November with reimbursement to the other vendors paid as work was completed. Anne obviously considered the expenditure worthwhile. Charles Smith used part of the space to tend her potted plants. "Paid Charles for one ton coal for his parlor where he keeps my flowers," she noted in her memoranda for 1882.[162]

By contrast, Anne was less than pleased with the 1878 decision of the City that required property owners to install walks and curbing on Chew Street. As Anne wrote Kate Dorsey[163] (Eliza Mason's daughter) in Virginia, "Several people have applied to grade our walks which they say must be done at once.... I had no idea

[162] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memorandum, April 4, 1882. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 206.

[163] Katherine Chew (Mason) Dorsey was the wife of Alexandria, VA, lawyer John T. B. Dorsey. As Eliza (Chew) Mason's daughter, she inherited a share in the Cliveden property.

that there was so much grading to be done for these lots, but the streets have been cut down very much in the past year."[164] On Kate's behalf, Anne also asked about the cost of grading Kate's lot. The response to her inquiry must have given Kate pause because shortly thereafter she sold the lot to Anne and Mary, jointly. Anne hired Mr. McCarty to do the grading; his bill for about $650 included blasting, dumping, and piling surplus stone and for putting up a wall on the low ground in Johnson Street. James McKenny's bill for paving and installing the curbing was an additional $344. The final payments were made in December. In 1882, additional curbing was needed, this time on Johnson Street between Chew and Musgrave. The work cost Anne more than $550. In 1887, Anne found herself being dunned by the City for her failure to pay John Kerrigan a total of $403.74 for "219 yards macadamizing done in front of property...[on] Morton Street [and] 75½ yards block gutter."[165]

In the third project, Anne installed a new cistern and water closet in 1886. H. H. Buzby supervised the work. A. H. Barrett was paid $185.00 to dig trenches and lay pipe; Harvey Moland & Co. supplied the pipe at a cost of $127.03. Mansfield & Lynn, plumbers, handled the installation. The total cost of the project was $522.63.

If Anne seemed preoccupied with building and maintenance problems, the Cliveden grounds were never far from her thoughts. She and Sam divided the responsibility for the care and management of the land. Sam's primary assignment was to supply funds to hire the gardeners, who also tended the livestock, and the day workers who plowed, planted, and harvested. The crops were orchard grass, clover, potatoes, and silage corn. Anne saw that the fences and boardwalks were maintained or replaced as needed, although in 1871 Sam did order and pay for a boardwalk behind Anne's garden. Most of the carpentry work fell to Curtis Smith and H. H. Buzby.

For many years a range of vegetables and fruits had been grown at Cliveden for family use, a practice which Anne and Sam continued. Fruits that could be preserved for later use were especially prized. The farm already had apple, peach, and pear trees as well as raspberries and currants and a small strawberry bed. Sam augmented these in 1880 with 24 "Pride of the Hudson" raspberry bushes. Anne saw to it that part of the fruit harvest was converted into jams and jellies. She purchased suitable containers from the tinsmiths who worked for her in other capacities. J. B. Fite supplied forty canning cans in 1870 and John Gavin made an additional twenty-seven the following year.

No photographs of the garden survive from the 1870s and 1880s. There are only the reminiscences of those who saw the grounds, like noted Germantown antiquarian Edwin C. Jellett. Jellett described the landscape at Cliveden, as he remembered it from about 1875, in remarks made to the Site and Relic Society of Germantown in 1912:

"Cliveden" as I first remember it appeared quite different from what it is now. Thirty-five years

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[164] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Kate Dorsey (Virginia), August 20, 1878. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

[165] Bill dated May 18, 1887. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 203.

> ago I imagine its grounds were much as they were at the close of the Revolutionary War, for the wall in front, with the lawns behind did not show their present finish, and the grades were altogether different. About the year 1874, Miller & Hayes were engaged to improve the place, and under the direction of Anthony Virtue, its "rough places were made smooth," shrubs and trees were planted, and in many respects its familiar picture was changed. "Cliveden," like nearly every old Germantown Home, had a hardy flower garden of the standard type, but it was better known by its spring, [and] by its great trees....[166]

By the late-1870s garden design generally had moved in a new direction with an increased emphasis on decorative flower beds. Anne likely followed this new trend. Anne's memoranda contain no references to the reshaping of Cliveden's topography, but by 1880 at least the front part of the Cliveden lot was planted as lawn. Sam's accounts list payments for sharpening the lawn mowers annually so the gardeners or hired hands could keep the grass properly trimmed. Anne placed ornamental flower beds in the area behind the house. In October 1880 Sam ordered five different varieties of rose bushes (6-"Red Miss Perpetual," 3-"Ferdinand de Lessups," 3- "La France," 3- "Madame Plantier," and 3-hybrid "perpetual crimson") and three Ampelopsis Veitchin plants (similar to "Virginia creeper") for Anne. In November and December he bought a total of $50 worth of seeds and bulbs from Robert Buist, Jr., a local nurseryman, including hyacinth, crocus, and tulip bulbs. Anne made fewer purchases of plants and seeds. Her accounts for 1885 and 1886 list "1 bushel Burbank seedlings, ($1.10)," 12 dozen Geraniums ($15) and 3 dozen Heliotrope ($4.50) bought from John Flynn, and six unspecified bedding plants ($17.50).

Anne's interest in gardening included raising plants in pots. In January 1882 she authorized carpenter Curtis Smith to supply boards to the gardener's cottage "for his window ledge for my flowers." As spring progressed she wrote: "Tell Charles to take [the] Begonia to [the] woods; William [Brownlee, gardener] to put Eupatorium & sage near stump; Charles to fill some pots. Gather lilacs etc. for Hall."[167]

While much of Anne's time was taken up with the duties of running Cliveden, she enjoyed a reasonably active social life exchanging visits with friends and neighbors. Anne also entertained at Cliveden, partly because she enjoyed people and partly because her grand-nieces Anne and Bessy were reaching an age when socializing was an important part of their education. "Yesterday Martha Brown and two Whartons came from town to join the dancing and dine," Anne noted in her memorandum entry for February 12, 1875. "The girls [Anne and Bessy] were to dine at Mr. Morrells & go then to the cricket party & they all returned here to tea...," she wrote on April 29 of the same year. Sam had built a lawn tennis court on the property for his family's use. "My niece expects a few friends to play Lawn Tennis tomorrow afternoon," Anne wrote Mrs. Ingersoll. "We shall be much gratified if your sons Messrs. Charles & Henry will join them at half past 4."[168]

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[166] Edwin C. Jellett, *Gardens and Gardeners of Germantown*, Germantown: The Site and Relic Society of Germantown, 1914, p. 334.

[167] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memoranda, May 27, 1882. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 206.

[168] Anne Sophia Penn Chew, memoranda of invitation sent to Mrs. Ingersoll, September 23, 1878. HSP, Chew Papers,

Anne read extensively in her free time. She subscribed to *North American Magazine* and belonged to a book club. Her taste in literature gravitated to history and biography, ordering the following "clubbooks" one year: William D. Howell, *Memoirs of Edward Gibbon*; James Anthony Froude, *Life and Times of Thomas Becket*; Victor Hugo, *History of a Crime*; E. Lawrence, *A Primer of Medieval Literature*; and George E. Ellis, *Life of Count Rumford with notices of his daughter*. There was a piano at Cliveden. Anne had taken lessons in her youth and may have played for her own amusement or simply have enjoyed listening to her grandnieces perform at the keyboard.

For Anne, life at Cliveden was a mixture of joy and tension. She watched with pride the maturing of Sam and Mary's three oldest children—Anne, Bessy, and David. By the mid-1880s, the girls had reached their majority and were an integral part of the social life of the city; David, a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania (1885), had begun studying law. She viewed the birth of Sam and Mary's three additional sons as joyous events although she may have dreaded the added noise and confusion.

One of the primary causes of family tension was money—specifically the question of how to finance the cost of running the estate. Even without major building projects, the yearly expenses were substantial. There were salaries and other costs for the staff of roughly ten servants not to mention the wages of the various day laborers. There were the costs of operating the stable. The rail system facilitated travel to and from the city but the family still used wagons and carriages to get from Cliveden to Vanor. Sam calculated the stable and garden expenses at $1816.98 for ten months from March to December 1878. There were also the payments for gas, sewer, fire insurance, and the inevitable taxes. It is difficult to calculate the precise cost of operating the estate in any given year because Anne's accounts are incomplete, but a reasonable estimate would be $2000-$2500 a year beyond the $1800-$2000 expended for the stable and gardens. In Anne's opinion, these costs were inflated because of Mary's demands. "I have means sufficient for my own requirements but not sufficient to entertain as I would like to do," Anne noted in her memorandum book, "and not sufficient to keep house in a way to satisfy the tastes of the inmates of my house."[169]

Finding the cash to meet these expenses was a challenge. Sam's contribution came from his salary at David S. Brown & Co. and from the small annuity left him by his father. Sam's brother Ben stayed at Cliveden from time to time and he occasionally added something for the household expenses. Anne's income came from inherited annuities, from a few investments and from rental properties she owned in Philadelphia and in Germantown. Mary made only the occasional small cash outlay; her part of the larger expenses probably was included in Sam's contribution.

A second area of tension was the difference of opinion about how the house should be run. Anne and Mary clearly had different ideas. The clashes seemed to be aggravated during Mary's pregnancies. They reached crisis level in the fall of 1878 as recorded in Anne's memoranda for October 27th:

Box 205.

[169] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memorandum, October 27, 1878. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

> Memo. of the causes of dissatisfaction of the family who are living with me. My bad management in every department of housekeeping. Extravagance in my table and yet distasteful preparation of the food. The food bought is not properly taken care of but wastefully misapplied. Yet I pay the butcher out of my own funds. The meals are messy, inelegantly served and generally ungenteel in all the appointments, not satisfactory to those who have been more genteely *[sic]* brought up.
>
> ...My servants are thought hateful and I have been advised to manage them better.
>
> If it were possible for me to give general satisfaction and to make the inmates of my house comfortable, or if I could benefit them in any way, there might be some encouragement for me and the sacrifice of my own convenience would not be so unprofitable.
>
> Mrs. Chew [Mary] was pleased to say that she thought I did not like anything to be given away, an opinion which is entirely erroneous and not very gracious in its application. I did not think it worth while to combat the idea, indeed I find myself very often passing over in silence remarks of hers.[170]

Almost a decade later the situation remained much the same, as David S. B. Chew reported to his younger brother Sam who was away at school:

> If you were here now you would find Cliveden and town both anything but what you imagine them in your dreams. The servants at Cliveden are insubordinate to an intolerable degree, every thing looks as though it was going to the dogs and it always gives me the blues to go out there. You need not think that if you were home you could improve things at all for such would not be the case. You would only make matters worse. 1716 [Walnut Street] is being run in a sort of one horse fashion and...the whole atmosphere is lamentable in the extreme. ... In addition to this everybody is out of humor, the meals bad as a rule. You would not be allowed to go to the theater or indulge in any entertainments. You will find Mamma rigidly stingy. I have scarcely enough money to pay my way....[171]

On a personal level, the family suffered several tragedies. Anne's last remaining sibling, Eliza Mason, died in 1874. The death of Sam's brothers, Charles Ridgely Chew (in 1875) and Benjamin (in 1885), left him as the only member of his generation. Mary lost her father in 1877, her mother two years later, and her only brother, J. Johnson Brown, in 1885. As painful as these events were, they paled in comparison to the trauma of Sam's untimely death in January 1887 at the age of fifty-five.

Sam probably would have been pleased by his obituary which reinforced the family connection to Revolutionary history:

> Samuel Chew, who died yesterday at Cliveden, the old Chew mansion, at Germantown, was the direct representative of a family well known for many generations in Philadelphia society. It was his great-grandfather, the colonial Chief Justice, who built the great stone house made famous in history by the battle of Germantown, of which it was the centre *[sic]* and key to the position, and that both before and after was the scene of many a peaceful gathering of note. Cliveden has remained in the family ever since, and has always been a seat of culture and refinement. Samuel Chew, who died at the early age of fifty-five, was a man of gentle manners, of great kindness of heart, and of dignified courtesy. He was a lawyer by profession, but having married a daughter

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[170] Anne Sophia Penn Chew memoranda, October 27, 1878. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 205.

[171] Letter from David Sands Brown Chew (Philadelphia) to his brother Samuel Chew (St. Paul's School, Concord, NH), March 23, 1886. CLIV Mss., DSBC Box 2.

> of the late David S. Brown, became interested in the great print works at Gloucester which occupied most of his time, his leisure being devoted to the refined pursuits of an educated gentleman of means. His town house was on Walnut Street, below Eighteenth, the former residence of Mr. Brown....[172]

Resolving Sam's estate was not easy. His will, drawn in 1881 before travelling to Europe, named Mary as executrix. There were a few specific bequests. He left his Aunt Anne a $2,000 annuity. His daughter Anne was to receive the painting of *The Immaculate Conception* (a copy after Murillo) and her own portrait painted by George Cochran Lambdin in 1881. Bessy inherited the two E. L. Henry paintings, *The Lafayette Reception* and *The Battle of Germantown*. David received "the set of silver that belonged to my mother [Katherine Banning Chew] now in daily use at Cliveden...but to be used by my dear Aunt Anne and thereafter by my wife." His son Sam inherited a gold watch given to Samuel Chew III by his brother Ben and a silver tobacco box supposed to have belonged to the Chief Justice. To his son Ben he left "my grandfather's silver" and the Chief Justice's gold watch. Oswald received a "gold ring engraved with the family coat of arms." Sam stipulated that the portraits of Peggy Oswald and Joseph Turner "remain at Cliveden as long as it is the home of any of my children."

Mary received the carriages, the horses, and the stable equipment at Cliveden and at Sam's Maryland property. The will urged her to sell the Maryland property for the best price, but not to sell "my lots in the Home block at Cliveden during the lifetime of my Aunt unless the necessity of the family should require the sale."

> Sam's will contained a final request, perhaps the most significant item in the document.
> It is my particular request that my dearly loved wife and children shall cherish my said dear Aunt and that she will foster them. I believe that continual intercourse will be a comfort to her and a delight and improvement to them. I beg that they will be much together and remember how I loved them all and let this remembrance be a tie. My said Aunt's loveliness and excellence in everything that adorns womanhood has been a great blessing in my life....[173]

Mary acquiesced to Sam's wishes. She and the children continued to live part of the year with Anne at Cliveden while also spending time in town and at Vanor.

"I feel very desolate," Anne wrote to a friend shortly after Sam's death. "The loss of my dear nephew——so kind & so good as he was is a sad grief. My nearest & dearest friends have <u>all</u> departed."[174] "To me the sorrow is inexpressible," she confided to Eliza's son, George Mason. Sam "was the last familiar & family tie. He was so good——& so kind & considerate to all who depended upon his aid——& his affectionate consideration was such a comfort & help."[175] Beyond her sense of personal loss, Anne worried about the future

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[172] Newspaper clipping, notice of the death of Samuel Chew, published January 11, 1887. CLIV Mss., SC3.

[173] Will of Samuel Chew, written June 13, 1881. Property of Elizabeth Chew Bennett.

[174] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Germantown) to "My Dear Margaret," January 31, 1887. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

[175] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Germantown) to George Mason, February 5, 1887. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

of Sam and Mary's children. The girls—Anne (Fig. 29), not yet twenty-five, and Bessy (Fig. 29), a year younger—were still at home. David, who would turn twenty-one in March, was just beginning his legal studies. The three younger boys—Sam, Ben and Oswald—were 16, 9 and 7 respectively. Who, Anne wondered, would guide their future, see to their education, and monitor their well-being? "I feel as if we were without chart or compass. [Sam's]...will & his judgment were our best guide," she confessed to a friend.[176]

Her concern was also one of practical finances. Anne's own resources were modest. Without Sam's income and investment management, would there be adequate funding to keep Cliveden in the family? An inventory and appraisal of the goods and chattels of Samuel Chew, taken February 16, 1887, was valued at $103,680.50.[177] No figure is available for Sam's stock and real estate holdings.

Anne, Bessy, and David offered to assist their Aunt Anne with the household expenses. She refused, initially, but reluctantly reconsidered. She wrote to David:

> I told you and your sisters yesterday that I would consider the proposal then made, of aiding me in defraying the expenses of my housekeeping.
>
> I can only repeat what I then said, that my fortune has been lessened to such a degree that my resources are inadequate for the maintenance of such an establishment as I have hitherto kept up. And therefore—without entering into the pros and cons—I have decided to accept for the present the offer of yourself & your sisters to aid me in defraying the household Expenses—Though in truth—I do dislike very much [having] to accept money from any of you.[178]

For the moment at least Cliveden's fate seemed secure and life continued much as it had in the past. Anne remained the mistress of the house. Mary split her time among her various residences. The girls were at Cliveden off and on. Sam was at school in New England (St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire and later at Harvard) but spent at least part of the summer with his Aunt Anne. Ben attended the Penn Charter School in town and often visited his aunt after school. Oswald and his French tutor, Mademoiselle Adila Von Nagy, were at Cliveden often between 1891 and 1894.

Despite Anne's advancing years, Cliveden remained a center of social activity in the summer. There was, as Anne put it in a letter to her great-nephew Sam, "the usual routine of uninteresting 'Droppers in'—They need not be named for you may know or imagine who they have been."[179] In contrast, Anne delighted in visits by

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[176] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Germantown) to an unidentified "Dear Friend," February 12, 1887. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

[177] HSP, Chew Papers, Box 250.

[178] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Germantown) to David Sands Brown Chew [Philadelphia?], March 4, 1887. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

[179] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Germantown), to Samuel Chew IV (on board the "City of Rome"), July 31, 1888. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

Mary's sister, Martha Brown. As she told young Sam, Martha "is always welcome & always agreeable...[she] comes and goes ad libitum." During the summer, when Sam, Ben and Oswald were there, Cliveden resounded with the sounds of "crowds of boys tearing over the place——as if it were a Bear Garden."[180] When they were absent, the house and grounds were quiet.

In the years immediately following Sam's death, "improvements" to the house and grounds were limited to necessary maintenance. Anne had Walter Binns paint the exterior of the house and the wash house in 1888. It had been a decade since the wash house had been painted and two decades since the house trim had been done. In 1889, another 200-foot section of side walk on Johnson Street needed grading and sodding. William M. Brownlee provided the street work; Robert Brownlee laid the wooden walk.

Anne continued to develop the flower gardens. David Cliffe supplied some of the plant material from his greenhouse on Johnson Street. The gardener, Matthew Nealy, supervised the planting. In December 1890, Anne acknowledged a shipment of bulbs from Mrs. Emerson, a friend in Boston.

> Many thanks...for the fine Bulbs which you were so kind as to send me——I shall be delighted to see them flourish——And they will be a sweet reminder of the sympathy in our tastes. We both love flowers——And I particularly cherish those which are the gifts of a friend....[181]

The garden was particularly lovely the following year. "Cliveden is looking beautiful," Anne wrote her great-nephew Sam at Harvard. "I never saw such a show of Bloom. I wish you could be here to see it."[182]

By the late 1880s, the estate's place in history was assured. Helped by the Centennial celebration and E. L. Henry's paintings, Cliveden now was a recognized historic site. This fact added prestige to the local area and led the Common Council of Germantown to approach Mary about her future plans for the property. Acting for the Council, Thomas Millhouse wrote:

> As long as I am in Councils I am sure no step will be taken that would in any way be in line of compelling you or Miss Chew to part with Cliveden.
>
> It might, however, be worth considering whether any thing could be done by which the city could take it, by your permission, in the far (I fervently hope) future. In many cases property is sold and divided after one's death, or the death of those who succeed and are unable to retain a valuable undivided tract.
>
> I am sure nothing would please you better than to have it kept as it is forever. You could not bear to think of the possibility of its being destroyed.
>
> It has always seemed to me that some way might be found by which it could be placed on the city Plan by an act of Council, and yet differed to remain absolutely yours as long in the future as you might prefer, on some terms that might be alike favorable to you, your family, and the

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[180] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Samuel Chew IV (Cape May, NJ), August 7, 1889. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

[181] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Mrs. Emerson, December 23, 1890. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

[182] Letter from Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Cliveden) to Samuel Chew (Cambridge, MA), May 7, 1891. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 198.

city.[183]

Mary's reply is not recorded, but it is clear that she resisted any effort to diminish what Sam had achieved. In her mind, Cliveden and the Chew family should always be inexorably linked. Less than a decade later, the recognized historic importance of Cliveden would again put family control of the property in jeopardy. In 1897 Congressman Hammer introduced a bill to make Cliveden and a portion of Upsala a national park. An article in the *Public Ledger* for June 2, 1897, outlined the proposal:

> The battle of Germantown was one of the most important of the Revolutionary War, and the incidents of the day form one of the most exciting stories of the whole of that great struggle for liberty. The picture of the old Chew house is as familiar to almost every man, woman, and child in the country as that of Independence Hall, and it is fitting, therefore, that the house itself, and as much as possible of the surrounding land, be preserved for the gratification of future generations.
>
> The Chew family take pride in the old house and keep it as nearly as possible as it was, when a detachment of British soldiers occupied it, and behind its stout walls held at bay a large portion of the American center of the day, and thus upset the plans of General Washington and finally caused the tide of battle to be turned against his forces. The bullet holes in the walls are unplugged, and the cannon ball holes were filled with plaster of a different color from that on other portions of the building. Even the statuary—bullet-scarred and mutilated, armless, headless and legless—is left as it was found the day after the battle. The blood stained floors are preserved, and the battered front door, which withstood the fierce assaults of the American soldiers, is preserved in the house as a treasured relic. But while the family take a strong pride in maintaining the historic old house as it was, the feeling of thousands of persons is that it should be a public domain, and there is an impression that the living members of the Chew family, through their very love for the place, and their desire that the property be preserved, would not seriously object to its passing into public control for park purposes. The feeling that the battle ground should become public property is strengthened by the fact that a good portion of the original site some years ago passed into other hands and was built upon. There is no likelihood that the present owners of the remainder will dispose of any more, but no one can tell what might be done by those who come after.[184]

The sponsors of this action seriously misjudged the attitude of the Chew family. Though the Chews might disagree among themselves on specific issues, they were united in their desire to retain the house and land as a private holding. They similarly rejected efforts by the State Legislature in 1903 to erect a monument to the Battle of Germantown anywhere on the property. A newspaper carried this account:

> When Governor Pennypacker signs the bill which was sent to him by the Legislature last Monday, and which provides for the appropriation of $10,000 for a monument on the Germantown battlefield, it is likely that an obstacle will be encountered in the person of Mrs. Samuel Chew, owner of the old Chew mansion.
>
> ... Mrs. Samuel Chew, when approached on the subject of a monument some time ago, said:

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[183] Letter from Thomas Millhouse, Common Council (Germantown) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia), March 20, 1889. CLIV Mss., MJBC, Box 3.

[184] Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, June 2, 1897. CLIV Mss., SC4.

> This is a total surprise to me. I know nothing of the proposed monument. I received a note some time ago asking me whether or not I would donate a plot of ground on my property in Germantown, on which a monument to commemorate the Battle of Germantown, could be erected. Being much occupied by the illness of one of the members of my family, I did not send a reply. I am interested in all matters of historical interest in Germantown, being a member of the Germantown Site and Relic Society, but I really think that the Battle of Germantown is a monument in itself.[185]

Sam's arguments concerning the historic importance of the house had been vindicated publicly.

[183] Unidentified newspaper clipping from 1903. CLIV Mss., MJBC.

IX: "Germantown's Greatest Private Park"

MARY BROWN CHEW AND HER SON, SAMUEL CHEW IV, CARRY ON THE TRADITION, 1892-1927

Anne's death in 1892 signaled major changes in the way Cliveden was run. Portions of the property had been sold off leaving the family's Germantown holdings somewhat fragmented. (Eventually other lots would be sold so that by the mid-twentieth century only the present six-acre property remained in family hands.) In the 1880s, this six-acre parcel (Fig. 30) was owned jointly by Anne, her nephew Sam, and his wife Mary. Anne owned the mansion lot (the northeast corner at Johnson and Morton Streets); the parcel diagonally across from it (the southwest corner at Germantown Avenue and Cliveden Streets) was Mary's; the two remaining parcels (the stable lot at Cliveden and Morton Streets and the lot at Johnson Street and Germantown Avenue) belonged to Sam. On his death in 1887, Sam's parcels were left in equal shares to his six children—Anne, Bessy, David, Sam, Ben, and Oswald.

In the natural order of things, Anne expected to predecease her nephew Sam. Her will, drawn in December 1879, left the mansion lot to Sam for life with the stipulation that it would then pass to any of his children that he designated. If none were specified, she wished the house to go to his second son and namesake, Samuel. After her nephew's death in 1887, Anne added codicils to her will making slight changes in the disposition of her estate, but she did not alter the line of descent of the house to her favorite nephew's namesake.

Samuel Chew (1871-1919) (Fig. 31) was 21 and still an undergraduate at Harvard College when he inherited Anne's land and the Cliveden house. When Sam returned permanently to Philadelphia in 1893, the pattern for Cliveden's use changed significantly. Although Sam was the titular owner of the house, the city directories for the 1890s and 1900s listed his primary residence as 1716 Walnut Street. It was his mother and sisters who appear in the directories as residents of Cliveden during that period. This apparent discrepancy resulted from Sam's decision that he would rent Cliveden to family members rather than live there himself. Several of his siblings took advantage of this opportunity in the 1900s and 1910s.

For the first time in almost thirty-five years, Cliveden had no full-time resident. David, already practicing law in Philadelphia, lived in town. Ben was away at school in Peekskill, New York, and came to Cliveden only during vacations. The rest of the family—Mary, Anne, Bessy, and Oswald—maintained their established pattern of dividing their time among the three family residences.

Sam's plans for refurbishing the house began shortly after his great-aunt Anne's death. As he pointed out to his mother, it had been over two decades since there had been any major redecorating and the house looked shabby. (The dining room had last been papered in 1870 and new carpeting installed in the hall, gallery, and stairs and in the drawing room in 1870 and 1871.)

At her son Sam's suggestion, on January 31, 1894, Mary invited Mr. Walraven, a decorator, to visit Cliveden and make recommendations for alterations to the drawing room and the dining room. Walraven believed that major work would be required to return these spaces to a presentable condition. He concluded that,

at a minimum, the woodwork needed repair and repainting. To add color and interest, he favored installing a damask wall covering in the drawing room and a ribbed plain weave wool rep in the dining room.

Mary initially opposed Walraven's proposal. She considered his estimate expensive but finally she capitulated. Her journal entries for March through mid-May, 1894, record the progress on the project. Each area required a thorough cleaning before the workmen could begin. Mary and Anne superintended the household staff in this activity: "Spent the morning [March 2] clearing out the drawing room in preparation for the painters who are coming on Monday."[186]

Walraven's painters arrived as expected on March 3 and the following day were joined by H. H. Buzby's carpenters who spent their time "filling up cracks in [the] wainscoting." Selecting the wallpapers and choosing furniture coverings, curtains, and carpeting occupied Mary from mid- to late-March. It soon became clear that the planned redecoration of two rooms was escalating into major work on the whole house.

By early April most of the work on the first floor was complete and activity shifted to the second floor. Mary took this opportunity to rearrange and redistribute a good deal of the second floor furniture, as her journal entries record:

> *April 21*. Men came to move furniture. Had Miss Chew's beds moved to Ben's room & spare room in back buildings. Miss C's mother's bedstead put into Miss Chew's room. While wardrobe in back entry put into 3d Story & bed in E. Front room put into servants room & bed in Harry's room in the wash house, put in room over kitchen, also bureau from Miss C's room put there. Worked very hard all day.
>
> *April 23*. The furniture movers came & moved large books case into the Western Office——also the large yellow paper case into the 2d story.
>
> *April 28*. Bessy & I arranged books all day. [187]

By the end of May most of the work was complete. All the woodwork on the first and second floors had been repainted. Wallpaper had been hung in the drawing room and dining room, and with Sam's approval, "Miss Chew's room" and the school room in the north addition also were papered. There was new carpeting in the dining room and the small first floor "offices" and new matting in the drawing room and the four chambers on the second floor. A good deal of furniture had been reupholstered and there were new lace curtains in several rooms.

Bills for the work continued to arrive through the end of the year. Walraven's charge for services was $507.00; Buzby's cumulative bill was $1639.33. Repairs to the roof, chimneys, painting, and other work cost an additional $3000. Mary invested $108.90 in new upholstery, $388.30 in new carpets, $118.18 in new floor matting, $40 in lace curtains, and approximately $30 in wallpaper for Anne's room and the school room. The

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[186] Daily Journal of Mary Johnson Brown Chew for 1894. CLIV Mss., MJBC.

[187] Daily Journal of Mary Johnson Brown Chew for 1894. CLIV Mss., MJBC.

total cost of the project was about $5,850.

Mary made very few changes in the general landscape during the years she served as Cliveden's chatelaine. One exception was in the design of the driveway. Some time between Anne's death and the end of the century, Mary (or possibly her son Sam) reoriented the driveway from the original straight line back to the carriage house to the serpentine form it retains today.

Throughout the 1890s and first decade of the 1900s, Mary had the services of gardener Matthew Nealy, who supervised other hires in caring for the gardens and the grounds. 1894 was a key year for the development of the garden, as it had been for redecorating the house. That year, Mary purchased a quantity of garden seed and plants from David Cliffe, the nurseryman whose greenhouse was on Johnson Street across Germantown Avenue. Whether her purchases were flowers or vegetables or a combination of both is not known. The best indication of the range of flora at Cliveden at the time comes from a letter Mary wrote to Edwin Jellett, February 27, 1904, describing the garden:

> I can only tell you of the plants of Cliveden that they were of the old-fashioned flowers of the time of 70, 80, and 100 years ago. The flowers in the garden were old-fashioned monthly roses, phlox, sweet williams, orange, mignonette, heliotrope, lemon-verbena, jasmine, and fruit trees, apples, pears, cherries and apricot, also box.[188]

As a younger mother, Mary's fragile health and social custom forced her to delegate daily responsibility for the care of her children to a nurse. Once child bearing was behind her, she was able to spend more time with her children, especially her youngest son Oswald (Fig. 32). Her 1894 journal provides insight into her relationship and interaction with him.

Like generations of Chews before him, Oswald was groomed to take his place in society. His formal education was the province of a French tutor, Mademoiselle Adila Von Nagy, who was hired in 1891. Mlle. Von Nagy supervised his classroom studies in literature, penmanship, history, math, and French. She lived with the family and was an integral part of the family circle. When she returned to France in the summer of 1894, thank-you gifts from the family included a watch from Oswald and a pin (from Philadelphia jewelry store J. E. Caldwell) from Mary. To hone his social skills, Oswald attended dancing classes and took drawing lessons. Oswald had a broad range of interests. He was a member of the Athletic Club. Like most boys of his age, he enjoyed a variety of seasonal sports. In winter, he "coasted" on the hills around Cliveden. In spring, he played baseball, the proud owner of a new baseball glove from his mother. Mary encouraged his interest in photography. "[I] gave him 18½ dollars to buy a camera," she noted on March 17, 1894, "on condition that he will stop using bad words." There is no confirmation on the success of her bribe.

Mary spent a good deal of time with Oswald especially in the evenings. Together they read books on a

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[188] Jellett quoted from her letter in an address to The Site and Relic Society of Germantown, January 19, 1912. See Edwin C. Jellett, Gardens and Gardeners of Germantown, Germantown: The Site and Relic Society of Germantown, 1914, pp. 334-335.

variety of topics including history, animal life, and religion. Mary seemed determined to bolster Oswald's moral training by the systematic study of Bible passages. Their evenings often ended with a talk. "I love these little talks at bedtime. We...[say] our prayers together," she wrote in her journal on February 3, 1894.[189]

Mary maintained an active social life. She entertained her friends and those of Anne and Bessy. Every few days she took the tram to the city. Sometimes the trip was for business but more often it was to attend a luncheon or to visit friends. She and her sister Martha "received" at the Walnut Street house about once a week. She enjoyed music and regularly attended concerts at the Century Club and the Mermaid Club. She was interested in painting and to a lesser extent in sculpture. Her visits to exhibitions at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts usually prompted a "review" in her journal. On one visit she saw Whistler's "*Studies in Brown*," which she remembered seeing at the Royal Academy, "*The Sculptor and the King*," which she liked very much, and Sargent's "*Miss Terry as Lady Macbeth*," which she described as "very powerful and very hideous." One of her favorite activities was to attend lectures. She heard Shakespearean scholar Horace Howard Furness read *King John*. She was enchanted with a series of lectures held at the University extension on various aspects of London in Shakespeare's time. In her leisure time at home she read extensively on a wide range of topics.

The single most important social event at Cliveden, in the years Mary lived there, was the marriage of her daughter Anne to British judge Vere Speke Alston on September 2, 1898. Alston was one of the judges of the Court of Appeal of the Native Tribunal in Cairo, Egypt. He and Anne had met when she visited Cairo several years earlier. Not since the wedding of Anne's great-aunt Eliza to James Murray Mason in 1822 had there been a wedding at Cliveden. The newspaper account of Anne's wedding mistakenly identified hers as the third nuptial to take place at Cliveden. (Peggy Chew married John Eager Howard at the family's South Third Street town house in 1789; Blair McClenachan owned Cliveden at the time.)

The ceremony was performed by the Rev. William H. Vibbert, former rector of both St. Peter's (Philadelphia) and St. Luke's (Germantown), in the entrance hall of the house which, according to the newspaper report, "was profusely decorated with palms and flowers and...an altar-railing of white China asters."[190] Anne was given in marriage by her brother David. Bessy was maid of honor and two cousins, Gabriella Tilghman and Eugenia Law, were flower girls. Oswald served as Alston's best man. The ceremony was followed by a reception and a wedding dinner on the lawn. The list of guests included family and Maryland relations (Ridgelys, Tilghmans, Dorseys, etc.) as well as a cross section of Philadelphia's social set (among them Newbolds, Ingersolls, Fishers, Rivinuses, Copes, Browns, Rushs, Wisters, Landreths, Coxes, Bohlens, and Cadwaladers).

Much of Mary's energy went into civic projects. In addition to her preservation work with the National Museum and Stenton, she joined the Site and Relic Society of Germantown (now the Germantown Historical Society) and the Colonial Dames. Her interests in civic activities extended beyond her preservation concerns to

[189] Daily Journal of Mary Johnson Brown Chew for 1894. CLIV Mss., MJBC.

[190] An unidentified Philadelphia newspaper, September 2, 1898. CLIV, Mss., ASPCA.

government. In 1894 she accepted membership in the Civic Club of Philadelphia. This group was dedicated "to promote by education and active co-operation a high public spirit and a better social order." Its membership was divided into groups that focused on municipal government, education, social science, and art. Mary asked to be assigned to the department concerned with government. Her interest in this area may have been heightened because her son David was elected to City Council that same year. With her multiplicity of activities and outside interests, one wonders how she handled the running of Cliveden.

Her interest in preservation was not especially directed towards Cliveden. For Mary, Cliveden was the patrimony her husband Sam had left their children. She appreciated the house and its history, but unlike Sam, she did not seek to reacquire items that had once been there. One exception was Major John André's handwritten description of the "Mischianza"—the farewell party for General Sir William Howe—presented a few days after the event by André to Peggy Chew. Mary purchased the manuscript (see Fig. 10) in 1894 from one of Peggy's descendants, James R. M. Howard, for $300.[191]

By the early 1900s, only Mary and Bessy were at Cliveden for any length of time. David had his own establishment in town. Ben, who was practicing law, stayed at 1716 Walnut Street until his marriage in 1912. Oswald was still an undergraduate at Harvard; once he entered the University of Pennsylvania Law School in 1903, he also resided at 1716 Walnut Street until he married in 1908. Sam spent a good deal of time in the Boston area; when he was in Philadelphia, he made the Brown town house at 1716 Walnut Street his primary residence. With such a reduced household the size of the staff at Cliveden dwindled from ten full-time servants to four (gardener, coachman, cook, and maid) and a part-time butler. Mary also hired, on a "casual" basis, a washwoman, a seamstress, a maid or a waiter, and someone to clean. Only the gardener would have been based at Cliveden, although the cook and the maid probably spent more time there than at Mary's other residences. The other staff either moved from house to house as needed or was hired locally as day labor. If there was flexibility in the number and composition of the staff, Mary tried to set a tone of permanency by having the maids, waiters, and butler liveried. (Earlier generations of household help probably had worn uniforms, but Mary's records are the first to list livery specifically.)

The lack of a resident staff led to a variety of servant problems and ultimately to what Sam considered slipshod care of the house. Mary tried to resolve the conflict:

> I have had everything done here which you requested in your letters, and I am trying to organize everything and keep the house in a neat, nice and dignified manner. I do not permit any untidy conditions—and I think you would be satisfied if [you] were here to see how quietly and nicely everything goes on. Of course there is never the same style as when there are men servants, but a neat well dressed woman is always dignified. Margaret put all your things away beautifully before she went to Vanor. I am sure that nothing she put up will have moth[s] in it. She works with so much more care and method than the valets, who don't seem to

[191] Entry for January 24, 1894, from Mary Johnson Brown Chew's Daily Journal. CLIV Mss., MJBC Daily Journal.

> care...[just] so that they get done & can go to amuse themselves.[192]

She hired a core staff—a cook, a maid, and a male servant—to care for Sam when he was at Cliveden, but Sam was not satisfied.

> I don't want Ellen [the maid] at Cliveden now at all. I thought she was to go today anyhow. I have a nice woman. ... I don't need any cook. The woman I have can take Ellen's place entirely & if James & his wife come she could do all the cooking necessary for me. I was counting on the washing being done. What in the world did you think I was getting a servant for and putting in a telephone if I was coming back to Vanor. When you go to town later, if it gets cold at Cliveden I should like to be able to use my room in town when I want to, but I need someone to look after my clothes carefully & I can't get it from your or Aunt's servants so I want as I told you to make Cliveden my headquarters. ... Ellen & the cook can go with pleasure but I need a laundress.[193]

Mary tried further appeasement:

> I have received your letter dated today & write to tell you that I have engaged another washerwoman who will go to Cliveden every Friday & Saturday to wash & iron.
>
> I have engaged a woman to come on Monday to clean the room over the kitchen so that James and his wife can move in & the old cook can go, when the room is prepared. The boy will then have to sleep in the 2nd story of the wash house. Or if he is not needed at Cliveden he can come over here and learn more of his duties before we move to town at the end of November. Your room in Walnut Street will be ready for you when the family moves in at that time.[194]

Sam was not mollified. He had definite ideas about precisely what staff was necessary for the smooth running of a household. He continued to feel ill-served until he hired a valet in 1914.

All matters affecting Cliveden hinged on the issue of money. Mary's income came from two main sources—the Brown estate which she shared jointly with her sister Martha and from her husband's estate which she shared with her six children. By 1910, Mary's children were grown. Anne was married and living in Cairo. Bessy assisted her mother in the manner expected of spinster daughters. David was an officer of several of the business enterprises started by his grandfather Brown and directed a real estate holding company developing New Jersey land once owned by Brown. Ben, Sam and Oswald were practicing lawyers.

Based on the estimated size of the Brown Estate, Mary probably was perceived to be very wealthy. (Sam clearly thought his mother was very well off.) There were stocks, prime real estate holdings, and commercial ventures. But the cost of maintaining Cliveden, contributing to the running of 1716 Walnut Street and Vanor, and responding to her children's requests for assistance placed severe strain on her income. David and Bessy, named for their Brown grandparents, each had been left a $10,000 legacy in David S. Brown's will; there were no

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[192] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Cliveden) to Samuel Chew, July 12, 1903. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[193] Letter from Samuel Chew to Mary Johnson Brown Chew, October 24, 1907. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[194] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Radnor) to Samuel Chew, October 24, 1907. CLIV Mss., SC4.

similar bequests to Anne Sophia or Samuel, the other children born before Brown's death in 1877. By the 1910s Sam and Oswald found themselves in what they considered strained circumstances. On several occasions they (Sam more frequently than Oswald) applied to their mother for relief. When it was not forthcoming, they viewed her lack of largess as an indication of stinginess and looked to their Aunt Mat (Mary's sister Martha Morris Brown) for assistance.

Money was also at the heart of Sam's proposal in 1906 to set up a trust company to administer the property he and his mother owned. The purpose of the "Cliveden Trust" was to assure that the property remained in the family. As proposed, the trust would hold the property during Mary's life and that of her children. On the death of the survivor, the land would pass to the oldest of Mary's grandchildren then living. If there were no grandchildren, the property descended to the oldest living great-grandchild. The "Cliveden Trust" would maintain the property, keeping it open and ready for occupancy year round, in so far as "contributions from members of the family" permitted. It allowed each of the family members to occupy the house for part of the year, the periods of time based on the number of applications. Those occupying the house would be subject to a proportionate part of the expenses incurred for taxes, insurance, upkeep, etc.

Developing a program to protect the house and the surrounding grounds and to ensure funding for their upkeep made good sense. The benefits of such a plan became even more obvious when later that year Sam found himself unable to pay a $248.80 bill for laying sewers on Chew Street. When the city threatened to place a lien on the property, Mary came to his rescue. But the prospect of losing Cliveden rattled him. To avoid future problems, Sam had to find a way to increase his income. The obvious solution was to ask his mother for more money. Mary's reply outlined her quandary:

> About ten years ago I had in [the] bank a "principal" of about $20,000. During that time my expenses exceeded my income about $2000 a year, & I met my expenses from this "principal" lying in the bank. Just before I received the increase in Lits rent, I had exhausted this sum of money; now I have no "principal" but am trying to live within my income.
>
> As I explained to you...I am paying you regularly $3,300 yearly from your father's estate——or rather I should say I am paying you $3120 from your father's estate & $180 from my own pocket, as one half of the quarry lot belongs to me, not to your father's estate. I keep this house in repair & the place in order at an expense of about $3000 a year.
>
> I would gladly give you and each one of my children an allowance of $5000 a year each, if my means would enable me to do so. But my income has been diminishing steadily ever since my father's death whilst my expenses have been increasing. At the end of this year I shall be better able to know what it will be in my power to do. I wish to act fairly by all my children.[195]

In the end, Mary decided that she would not be able to give Sam more than $3,300 a year. "You need not call the $1200 [I send you] rent from Cliveden, you can call it [an] allowance from me. It amounts to the same thing."

As the decade progressed, Sam became increasingly concerned about the future of Cliveden and pressed his mother for some written indication of her intent. Mary responded, "I wish, & it seems reasonable that

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[195] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Cliveden) to Samuel Chew IV, October 5, 1907. CLIV Mss., SC4.

whoever owns the house should have the control of the surrounding ground & it would be my desire to have it so."[196] She agreed to review her will to see how she had stated her intent and to share that portion of her will with him. "You can let me know if you are satisfied and consider the disposition I have made of it, a just disposition. I would not wish anyone else to share the control with you."

Sam continued to press Mary to increase the money he received annually. She resisted, but apparently indicated that she would raise his stipend if and when he married and had additional expenses. Sam reminded her of her offer to give him $8,500 if he intended to live at Cliveden. "Can you make this in such form that you can make it sure to go on in the future even if anything should happen to you," he asked his mother in October 1913?[197]

Mary was devoted to all her children, especially her son Sam. His feelings for her are more difficult to assess. They may have been very close in private, but his surviving letters lack the normal display of affection. In fact, the tone was often acrimonious and petulant.

> I think if you took an interest in me I might amount to something. I am dependent however & am a domestic animal & need a lot of care & attention when at home & out of working hours, (not as much though as the little dog). Don't you think you could ever concentrate enough to give me what little I crave, instead of nursing the dog, & giving the rest of your very valuable energy & intelligence to Stenton & Independence Hall![198]

As Sam reached middle age, his sometimes pointed rivalries with his older brother, David, and with Ben, seven years his junior, spilled over into his exchanges with his mother.

In a long letter to Mary on October 6, 1915, he again raised the issue of Cliveden's future. Expressing his concern that his lack of income would force him to mortgage the property, he pointedly asked his mother what provisions she had made:

> I am anxious about the future of Cliveden——the taxes will increase every year——and I don't want to find myself in a position where I would have to make any sacrifices of any kind whatsoever——like finding myself in such a quandary for money that I would have to mortgage it. ...I would like to know what your provision is about Cliveden, you can help me to do the right thing & am deeply desirous to do the right thing. And I don't want to get into straights about money matters.[199]

Sam was particularly upset by Ben's actions which he perceived as trying to usurp his birthright:

> Above all things that I resent is Ben's proposition to take it [Cliveden] off my hands and lease it for ten years or more. Its like Jacob and Esau. I don't intend if I can help it to sell my birth-

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[196] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Cliveden) to Samuel Chew, October 11, 1909. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[197] Letter from Samuel Chew to Mary Johnson Brown Chew, October 14, 1913. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[198] Letter from Samuel Chew to Mary Johnson Brown Chew, March 31, 1910. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[199] Letter from Samuel Chew (Radnor) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew, October 6, 1915. CLIV Mss., SC4.

> right. Ben got my horse and saddle for a mess of pottage. He is going to name his son Sam, and he also would like Cliveden.——Its the limit. ...At 44 years of age to be shorn of all my vested and inherent rights is rather too much.[200]

He deplored his mother's lack of financial acumen and worried about his brother David's guidance of her affairs:

> Your estate when Grandfather died was appraised at nearly two million dollars. Through no fault of my father's that estate has shrunk to about half a million (which David has exclusive control of). Providence has seen fit to increase hundred of fold your real estate holding——especially in Radnor. Here alone you could sell you[r part] easily at a million and a half dollars. But you are just as liable to make a botch of this as you did with your other properties.[201]

His letter closes with a message that is part plea and part warning:

> At least help me feel fairly safe about Cliveden. A trust fund might be established by you for the maintenance of Cliveden. I might feel sure...no matter what might happen to my fortunes. But I should have always myself to be bound by any conditional clauses. Cliveden is mine——it will be bound in my will and mine alone. I will not be bought or bribed, but if you wish to help dear Cliveden you can do it——only you must act. ... Your obstinacy in facing the issue of Cliveden's future with me is only equaled by your attitude towards my suggestions.[202]

Mary's reply the next day was succinct:

> I think I am as anxious to provide properly for the future of Cliveden as you are ——. I should like to put 40 or 50 thousand dollars in trust to pay taxes & repairs——for Cliveden and if you should be married I would see that you should have at least $8000 a year and more if possible. Tell me how you think I can best arrange for this? I do not know the necessary legal procedure, but if you will point out the way——I will try to do it.[203]

Even before America entered the First World War in April 1917, Sam began putting his affairs in order. He drafted his will in July 1916. In it he appointed his friend Thomas Ridgeway as trustee of his "house and land known as Cliveden." Ridgeway was charged with maintaining the property, paying the taxes, and making any necessary repairs. He was given the authority to sell Cliveden for a reasonable sum to any family member he might choose "but not for a less amount than...stated in a note of instructions" to be opened on Sam's death. If no family member wished to buy Cliveden at the price fixed, Ridgeway was authorized to:

> convey the ... property to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in trust to maintain the same forever, without material alteration of either house or grounds, as a memorial of my ancestor, Chief Justice Chew, and as an example of colonial architecture for the benefit and inspection of the public at such times and under such regulations as may be deemed fit by the proper authorities.[204]

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[200] Letter from Samuel Chew (Radnor) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew, October 6, 1915. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[201] Letter from Samuel Chew (Radnor) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew, October 6, 1915. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[202] Letter from Samuel Chew (Radnor) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Cliveden), October 6, 1915. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[203] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Cliveden) to Samuel Chew (Radnor), October 7, 1915. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[204] Will of Samuel Chew (1871-1919), drafted July 1916. CLIV Mss., SC4.

Sam's will included the instruction that "the furniture, personal property, pictures and objects of historic interest now in Cliveden associated with its occupants and with the Battle of Germantown" should be "sold or disposed of with the land and house in accordance with the above provisions...."

Sam, Ben, and Oswald volunteered for active service during World War I. Ben (age 39) joined the Cavalry. Sam (46) and Oswald (35) were rejected for active duty but served with the Red Cross Ambulance Corps in France.

Before his departure for Europe, Sam observed that Cliveden was in deplorable shape with the grounds in especially poor condition. "If visitors are coming on October 6th, it is very important that the grounds...should be shaped up better," he wrote his mother in September 1917. "They are about as shabby as I have ever seen them...."[205] Sam's litany of problems was extensive. There was a new large refuse heap in the back yard. The front wall was in danger of tumbling down. There was long grass under the trees that required cutting with a scythe. The grass needed trimming along the edge of the drive and around the flower and vegetable garden beds.

Sam returned from overseas to find Cliveden even further run down. In March 1919, he circulated a letter to members of the family noting the debilitated state of the house and emphasizing the need to hire additional staff, beyond the resident couple, if the house were to be open. He pointed out that, as it was, there were six mouths to feed and wages to be paid even when the house was empty. He argued that an additional man and two women were essential for the house to be run efficiently.

> It is a betrayal of the trust left by Aunt Anne and Father, in my opinion, to allow Cliveden to drag along in such sloppy, untidy, tumbledown conditions as it has for the last several years. Much better to present it to the Government, National or State, or Historical Society, any of which would maintain it at least as well as Stenton, which is far better then Cliveden is maintained. In fact, I consider Cliveden a disgrace.[206]

After the war, Sam made a concerted effort to put the house and grounds in shape. He hired local nurserymen, Meehan & Brother, to plant several small evergreen trees. When two of the trees on each side of the driveway near the front gate died, he had them replaced. Most of the routine trimming and weeding was done by James, Sam's gardener-farmer-handyman, and "his Italian" co-worker. Sam worried that James' other tasks, including a milk route in town, would prevent him from finishing the clean up before the anticipated carnival on the grounds in early June 1919. He confessed to his mother:

> [James] has accomplished a fair amount in the way of straightening the fences and straightening up the vegetable garden along the borders. To my mind these things could have been accomplished a great deal more quickly than they were, but I thought it best not to urge him or complain, so [I] have been encouraging him and pointing out a few suggestions.[207]

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[205] Letter from Samuel Chew to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Cliveden), September 24, 1917. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[206] Cliveden Bulletin, March 22, 1919. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[207] Letter from Samuel Chew (Cliveden) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia), May 21, 1919. CLIV Mss., SC4.

Sam also tried to put the house in order before the event. "The colored girl who comes in to wash and clean has not been able to get the hall and down stairs in order by any means,"[208] he reported to his mother. Sam had engaged the Contract Department of John Wanamaker to clean and wax the floors but was not satisfied with their work. He notified his mother, "Wanamaker who was waxing the dining room, parlor and the four main rooms upstairs, omitted the parlor and has not begun again, although I discovered it a week ago and called it to the attention of the head of the contract department."[209] For several weeks Sam engaged in a war of letters with the store until the problem was corrected.

Although the family viewed Cliveden primarily as a private residence, the grounds were open to the public on appropriate special occasions. One important instance was the 135th anniversary of the Battle of Germantown, held October 7-12, 1912. The event drew national attention with the visit of President Taft and a number of officials from Washington. One feature of the celebration was a pageant in which Sam agreed to portray Chief Justice Benjamin Chew. "Bessy has gone to Fisher's today to see about the coat and waistcoat & will write & tell you what she has secured," Mary wrote Sam as she and Bessy had joined forces to see that he was appropriately costumed.[210] Bessy's letter added the details:

> I went to town yesterday to Fishers & ordered your coat & waistcoat & also saw some very suitable plain shoe buckles with a tongue to be put in if wanted. The old man said he had waited on you in Pine & took great interest in it all. He also said he had known Papa——& that he had always called him Mr. Sam. ...I also went to Bock & saw about your wig. The man there also seemed to know you & take great interest in the affair. Pad got the breeches, stockings, garters, lace jabot for collar & sleeves a high collar also & everything is in good order——also a lace handkerchief——& Mother has the hat! I have not been able yet to find out about the style of the cane for the period——& am looking up pictures for buttons etc.[211]

Unfortunately no photographs of Sam impersonating the Chief Justice are known. The closest approximation is the photograph of Sam and Bessy costumed for a reenactment of the Mischianza ball in 1895 (Fig. 33).

Beyond its place as private residence and historic site, Cliveden had a third function in the community. It preserved park land in an increasingly built up city. Edwin Jellett stated its value succinctly in his remarks to The Site and Relic Society of Germantown, in January 1912:

> ...The place stands to speak for itself. With "Cliveden," historic associations of course out top every other interest, but every one viewing its dignity, its majestic trees, its beautiful grounds, must rejoice that it is in possession of a family able to maintain it in perfect order, with successors to preserve it, for it is Germantown's greatest private park."[212]

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[208] Letter from Samuel Chew (Cliveden) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia), May 21, 1919. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[209] Letter from Samuel Chew (Cliveden) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Philadelphia), May 21, 1919. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[210] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Cliveden) to Samuel Chew, September 15, 1912. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[211] Letter from Elizabeth Brown Chew (Vanor) to Samuel Chew, September 17, 1912. CLIV Mss., SC4.

[212] Edwin C. Jellett, Gardens and Gardeners of Germantown, Germantown: The Site and Relic Society of Germantown,

Sam's untimely death in July 1919 at the age of 48 stunned the family. But even as they grieved, they found themselves dealing with the ramifications of Sam's 1916 will which left the title to Cliveden in dispute. At least one Philadelphia newspaper recounted the story of how the nearly $50,000 estate was to go to an unknown beneficiary under secret seal instructions left to Sam's executor, Thomas Ridgeway. (No copy of Sam's 1916 secret instructions has been discovered.) David immediately filed suit on behalf of the family. "I am so sorry that you filed that Caviat *[sic]* yesterday," Mary wrote David, "and I want to beg and entreat you not to go on with the proceedings."

> It would distress me more than I can tell you, to have Sam's will dragged into publicity——and above all that his brothers and sisters should come before the public as disagreeing about anything. Do dearest David spare me this great distress. ... I think that Anne & Ben may buy Cliveden for their little son——as that was Sam's wish.[213]

The portions of the property that had belonged to Sam passed to his namesake, Ben's four-year-old son Sam.[214] Because young Sam was a minor, his Aunt Bessy was named guardian of the estate until he was twenty-one.

Bessy (then in her late 50s) and her mother (in her 80s) lived at Cliveden intermittently but mainly in the summer until Mary's death in 1927. They regularly entertained Ben's older children at Sunday dinner. Anne Chew Barringer, Ben's oldest daughter, remembered those Sunday visits.[215] She went with her brothers Ben, Sam, and John. Occasionally her parents joined them, but her sister Betty was too young to go. The meals were formal, "with finger bowls." The menu was usually roast beef and roast potatoes or a leg of lamb. Dessert was always homemade vanilla ice cream with thick chocolate sauce. After dinner, they adjourned to the front hall which was set up "like a living room." Grandmother Chew entertained them by reading *Bible Stories for Children*. The books had no colored pictures, only tiny etchings for illustration. Generally the boys were restless because they were not permitted to go outside and play. Anne Barringer's retrospective assessment was that the boys were bored. "The day was heavy sledding, but the food was good."

Anne remembered her grandmother as "always wearing mourning" (Fig. 34). In winter she was dressed in black clothes and high button shoes; in summer she wore lavender and white. Anne described her as "very Victorian, with her hair screwed up on top of her head." She viewed Bessy as "a proper spinster daughter who lived with her mother wherever Mary lived."

Mary, possibly at Bessy's suggestion, was responsible for the only major new construction during her occupancy. In 1921 she added a bathroom to the first and second stories of the house. The larger of the two was

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1914, pp. 334-335.

[213] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Vanor) to David Sands Brown Chew, July 9, 1919. CLIV Mss., MJBC.

[214] Philadelphia Co. Deed Book, DWH 189, p. 281.

[215] Material taken from a taped oral interview with Anne Chew Barringer conducted by Jennifer Esler, June 12, 1987. Tape at Cliveden.

off the bedroom over the parlor. Designed by Louis A. Rush, A.I.A., the room was a "box" supported by a columns (Fig. 35). This maintained a view from the parlor towards the garden while minimizing the reduction of natural light in the room. Rush also tucked a small powder room at the end of the lateral hall of the north wing. A newspaper report noted that a permit had been granted for the addition "to be at the rear of the house, and will be two stories high, including a bathroom and other rooms and also a large porch. The estimated cost is $5,000." The article noted that "the original appearance of the house from the front will not be altered."[216]

The project turned out to be more expensive than the original $5,000 estimate. H. E. Grau, Builders, were responsible for the construction work. Besides the actual work on the addition, their bill included fixing the outside cellar door, re-setting the stone sill in the kitchen, re-pointing portions of the outside walls, and repairing the stucco. Gray and Dormer handled the plumbing contract. Their final bill also included installation of radiators and piping in the bath and toilet for future heating systems. The combined bills came to $5,261.52; Rush's fee was 10% of the cost bringing the total cost to $5,787.67. Bessy paid the extra charges but noted: "It was supposed to be covered by $5000 when estimated."[217]

Mary died at Cliveden on July 27, 1927. Her tenure at Cliveden focused on maintaining the traditions set by her husband. It was important to keep the six-acre core property in the family. Title to the house lot had already passed to her grandson Sam (1915-1989) with Bessy acting as guardian. Mary had given her lot (at Germantown and Cliveden) to Bessy in 1923. Bessy would later deed this land to her nephew Sam. The two remaining lots (the stable lot and the lot in front of the house) were the shared property of Sam and Mary's five surviving children (Anne, Bessy, David, Ben and Oswald).

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[216] Unidentified newspaper clipping, 1921. CLIV Mss., MJBC.

[217] Itemized bill from Louis Rush (Philadelphia) to Mary Johnson Brown Chew (Cliveden), December 27, 1921. CLIV Mss., MJBC.

X: Guardian of Cliveden

ELIZABETH BROWN CHEW SUPERVISES THE PROPERTY, 1927-1958 [218]

Bessy was the only one of Sam and Mary's surviving children with no house of her own. (She had inherited the Philadelphia town house from her mother, but sold it in the early 1930s.) Her sister Anne and her husband lived in Cairo. Her three brothers had homes on the original David Sands Brown property in Radnor. Ben and his family lived at "Vanor." Oswald and his wife Ada occupied the house called "Maidstone." David and his family divided their time between "Glenvale" and a house in town. Bessy was also the only one with no other family obligations. It was logical that she remain at Cliveden to look after her nephew's interests until he reached his majority.

Bessy took seriously her responsibility as guardian of the property she held in trust for her nephew. One of her early acts was to set up a savings account in Sam's name to hold in escrow the rent she paid as his tenant. (Sam received the proceeds from this account when he reached twenty-one.) Bessy felt an obligation to maintain the property not just for Sam but to honor the several generations of Chews who had lived there. As guardian, she consulted with Sam's father, her brother Ben, when repairs or improvements were contemplated. But she personally paid all the expenses for running the estate until Sam legally inherited the house in 1936.

Her first project was to remodel the rear section of the wash house which had deteriorated through long neglect. Thomas Cope, son of architect Walter Cope and a family friend, supervised the work. His first letter to Bessy, in July 1931, describing the progress on the project was not reassuring:

> Today, when the old plaster was pulled off the underside of the second floor throughout the old smoke-house (that is to say the ceilings of the three little closets at the end of the wash-house building) we found that two joists...had been so cut at the time that the plumbing was put in to get pipes through them, and had so rotted since then, as to make it really unsafe to leave them in their present condition.
>
> The only reason that they have not gone further than they have is that they have been resting on the little cross partitions, which however are not designed to carry any load.
>
> It also seems to me that it would be very wrong to put any new plastering on those three ceilings before the framing is in a proper state to carry it.[219]

Unable to reach Bessy for approval, Cope authorized Samuel Harting & Sons, the contractor, to install two new joists and increased their contract by $50, a figure he considered very reasonable for the work. Cope's letter contained other expensive news. He advised Bessy that part of the project also involved removing an old zinc

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[218] Material for this chapter comes in part from the oral history interview with Anne Chew Barringer conducted by Jennifer Esler, June 12, 1987 and a taped interview with Lowry Chew Stephenson conducted by Sandra Mackenzie Lloyd and Nancy E. Richards, October 25, 1990. Both tapes are on file at Cliveden. Elizabeth Chew Bennett also shared her memories of life at Cliveden in the second quarter of the twentieth century in various conversations.

[219] Letter from Thomas Pym Cope (Germantown) to Elizabeth B. Chew (Cliveden), July 23, 1931. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 250.

bath tub from the second floor. (In former years, Bessy's brothers had used the facility for bathing during the summer.) Cope pointed out that the tub probably would be destroyed in the removal and that there would also be damage to a portion of the second floor. This, too, would increase the cost. Bessy must have approved Cope's recommendation concerning the work on the second floor because, later that month, Cope reported that the work was progressing well and that it should be completed by the time she returned from her trip to Canada. The final cost for stabilizing the wash house was $556.

> At the same time, work was underway in the house. Cope also reported on its progress:
> I have twice been inside the house to see what was going on. Mr. Green asked me questions, which I was unable to answer without asking you. I have, however, taken the liberty of suggesting that they do nothing but preliminary work until you return and answer the questions. As there seems to be plenty of preliminary work, and as they do not think that they will be through with it until a day or so before August the eighth, this would seem to work out all right. The questions were as to the finish color of the woodwork paint, whether to patch certain holes in the plaster or whether these were bullet holes and to be left, the colour *[sic]* of the wall paint in the back entry behind the old dining room window, and what to do with the walls of the main hall, stair portion, which refuse to wash as clean as had been hoped.[220]

Whatever renovations were authorized, the evidence of the bullet holes was an important part of the history of the building and it was essential that the record be retained.

The following year, Bessy hired Germantown painter and paper hanger George W. Wills to refurbish the drawing room. Wills applied a calcimine wash to the ceiling, scraped the sidewalls, filled the cracks in the woodwork, and repainted. Bessy considered papering the drawing room at the time but decided against it.

There had been no major redecorating at Cliveden since Mary's project in 1894. By the early 1930s it could not be postponed any longer. Anne Barringer credited her parents, Benjamin and Anne Thompson Chew, with pressuring Bessy to "spruce up the house" in 1935-1936.

One of the earliest indications of pending activity was Bessy's November 1934 request to the Philadelphia upholstery firm of Woodville & Company for an estimate on making curtains and valances for four windows using "narrow width damask" that she would supply. The fabric in question was a set of lemon-yellow brocaded curtains that had been saved by her friend Julia Rush from a house in town. Woodville & Company submitted two possible designs. Their cost estimate of $265.45 so amazed Bessy that she contacted a second firm. The following fall, Malissa Shupert, an interior decorator in Bala Cynwyd, submitted two alternative designs at a considerably reduced price. Bessy eventually selected one of the simpler designs.

Bessy hired Samuel Lee to paint all the exterior woodwork on the house and the wash-house dependency. Inside the house, Lee removed a calcimine wash from the dining room. His contract included repairing the plaster in the office and repainting the woodwork in the office, dining room, main hall, and stairs,

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[220] Letter from Thomas Pym Cope (Germantown) to Elizabeth B. Chew (Murray Bay, Canada), July 30, 1931. HSP, Chew Papers, Box 250.

and in Bessy's room. It also included some touch-up painting in other areas. The cost was about $821.

The visual effect of the newly cleaned walls and freshly painted woodwork must have been stunning. Anne Barringer remembers the changes in the drawing room particularly. The new lemon-yellow curtains and the three large looking glasses reflecting light and color made the room look "dazzling."

The rooms looked different because they contained more furniture in a wider range of styles than had been there a decade earlier. Some of the "new" furnishings had come from Anne Alston's villa in France. (Anne and her husband Vere both died in 1931 and many of Anne's furnishings were bequeathed to her sister Bessy.) Other pieces came from 1716 Walnut Street when that property was sold in the early 1930s. Bessy's grandnephew Lowry Chew Stephenson, who stayed with his aunt in 1930-1931, remembers the house as very crowded. This fact is confirmed by photographs taken about that time (Figs. 36-38).

One of the key features of the drawing room was a large partially-gilded looking glass similar in size to the pair of white-painted looking glasses originally bought by Chief Justice Chew in 1772 for use in his town house (Fig. 39). The partial gilt looking glass (Fig. 40) belonged to Bessy's good friend Mrs. Walter Cope. She had loaned it to Bessy because it looked better at Cliveden than it did in her house on Johnson Street. (Years later, her son Tom retrieved it and took it Boston; it was bought back for Cliveden in 1974 after the house became a National Trust property.)

While the house was being redecorated, Bessy improved the mechanical systems. She had the plumbing firm of Harrison, Mertz & Emlen replace the corroded water pipes servicing the kitchen wing and the bathroom on the east side of the house. She also installed a new hot air furnace that heated the first floor and a hot water furnace to fuel radiators on the second and third floors of the main house.

Her attention also turned to outside maintenance. In 1932 she had the stone wall on Germantown Avenue raised and topped with an iron fence. A similar stone wall with iron fencing replaced latticed wood fencing and an elaborate wooden gate (Fig. 41) on Johnson Street. Wayne Iron Works supplied the new metal fencing, a new entrance gate (Fig. 42) on Germantown Avenue, and the new Johnson Street gate. When the cost of building similar fencing on the remaining sides of the property proved prohibitively expensive, Bessy had cyclone fencing installed.

Bessy tried her hand at gardening with the help of her gardener-handyman, James Burns, her neighbor Tom Cope, and various hired workers. It was she who had the rhododendron planted on Germantown Avenue and a stand of trees put in near the corner of Morton and Johnson Streets to serve as a screen. Potted oleanders had been a part of the Cliveden summer landscape since the late nineteenth century; these wintered in the cellar reappearing in front of the house in the summer. Smaller plants wintered-over in the cold frames near the carriage house. There was a vegetable garden on the Cliveden Street side of the carriage house. Anne Barringer remembered the area behind the house as mostly grass with a square or rectangle set aside for flowers. Lowry Stephenson remembered the same area as a mix of borders and shrubbery (mainly box). Mrs. Barringer observed that although Bessy tried at several times to plant a flower garden there, "she never got the right people to come

in and do it right...and the garden never amounted to anything."

Lowry Stephenson was about thirteen when his parents, Lowry and Mary Evelyn (Chew) Stephenson, arranged for him to spend the winter of 1930-31 with his great-aunt Bess while he attended the Penn Charter School. His memories of that winter offer insight into life at Cliveden in that period. Bessy and young Lowry were the only family members in the house. The staff was small. Katy Burns, the cook, was married and had children. She lived in her own house off the property and came in for the day. Her husband James was gardener and general caretaker. It was his job to open the exterior shutters every morning and close them at dusk. Bessy insisted that he wear white gloves and a white apron when performing this task so that the white shutters did not get dirty. Although his wife went home every evening, James occupied a room above the kitchen. He provided at least the illusion of security for Bessy. There were two maids, Moira Lynch and "old Lizzy," who shared the third floor room on the south side of the house. A chauffeur, Walter Greene, was available to drive Bessy around but often she chose to travel to town by public transportation. Greene, like Katy Burns, lived nearby. David Davit, a Frenchman, worked for Bessy as butler. With his proper bearing, he was the most colorful of Bessy's staff and made a lasting impression on both Lowry Stephenson and Anne Barringer. David worked for Bessy part-time; he came in to serve at parties and the more formal occasions. He also worked for a local caterer and, according to Lowry Stephenson, was likely to turn up at parties around town.

Bessy occupied the bedroom over the dining room. It had a fireplace that provided some additional heat in the colder months beyond what little spilled in from the hot air register on the first floor. Lowry's quarters were diagonally opposite in the front bedroom. The fireplace in that room offered only modest heat to supplement that from the central furnace duct. When he developed a deep cold that turned into bronchitis, family members persuaded Bessy to move him to the heated bedroom in the north wing. The chamber above the Parlor with its attached bath served as the guest room. The small front room was used occasionally as a bedroom but mostly for storage.

Lowry remembers his Aunt Bess as "very easy going." She arranged the furniture in the house for comfortable living. There were no restrictions on his use of the entire house except a reminder that the caned fancy chairs were fragile. He remembers wrestling with his friends on the large sofa in the parlor. Bessy kept the parlor for more formal occasions preferring to use the front entrance hall as her living room. So much of her time was spent there that she furnished it with comfortable furniture. In the corner closest to the room called "Benjamin Chew's office," she placed a couch, a couple of soft chairs, a table with her radio, and another table for serving tea. It was there that she spent her evenings reading or listening to the radio. There was a tall secretary desk that stood, variously, to the right of the front door or to the left of the door to the "office." The other half of the room had an assortment of seating furniture and tables. There were framed prints and drawings resting on the chair rail with paintings hanging above. The old Revolutionary muskets leaned against the columns.

Bessy's daily routine rarely varied. She woke early and had breakfast in her room. Dressed and ready for work by 9:00 A.M., she began her activities by giving her instructions for the day to the cook and the maids. She

might also have laid out a work plan for James Burns. She spent most of the morning at her desk keeping up her correspondence, paying bills, or supervising the maintenance of the property. She worked at the desk in the front hall or at a large desk set in front of the window in the upper gallery.

Luncheon usually was a hot meal. It was served to Bessy and Lowry in the dining room on the everyday blue and white Canton china. The dinner service decorated with a peach band (Sam and Mary's wedding china) was reserved for guests. Family dinner was a more formal meal with a white table cloth replacing the place mats used at luncheon.

In the afternoon, Bessy socialized. She exchanged visits with friends or went to town. When she entertained at Cliveden, she usually invited close friends for tea or small dinner parties. Large formal gatherings were the exception.

Her leisure activities were varied. Despite her duties as "guardian," she was free to travel more extensively than while she cared for her mother. She took advantage of her sister Anne's invitations to visit her in Cairo and in the south of France. Even after Anne's death in 1931, Bessy continued to take trips with friends as long as her health permitted.

When she was in Philadelphia, she especially enjoyed the opera and attended performances when she could. She listened to the radio and read a great deal, until her eyesight failed. She belonged to several civic organizations. Like her mother and her sister Anne, Bessy was a member of the Colonial Dames. She also joined the Landmarks Society but never was as active as her mother in the preservation movement.

Although she ceased to be officially responsible for running the estate in 1936, when her nephew Sam turned twenty-one, she continued to live at Cliveden attended by a small staff. As her health declined, her social activities became restricted. She had fewer visitors but continued to invite guests in for afternoon tea. This was more than a simple meeting of friends; it was an occasion. Once the ladies were seated, David brought in the tea cart and the tiered cake stand. There were little sandwiches and tea cakes, but the special treat was "white mountain cake" bought from Sautters, the luxury cake shop in town. Bessy always brewed the tea herself while David served.

Mindful of Cliveden's place in history, Bessy had no objection to people walking on the grounds. Access to the house was another matter. The butler politely advised those who inquired that "the house was not open to the public." One important exception was the sesquicentennial anniversary of the Battle of Germantown, held October 1-4, 1927. The souvenir program described a number of the scheduled events:

> At 2 P. M. over 500 people gathered at Cliveden to participate in the Historical Pilgrimage under the auspices of the City History Society. The afternoon was a warm but beautiful one, and the historic homestead of the Chew family presented a charming picture as the birds fluttered in the branches of the huge oaks and the fall flowers, bedecked in their brightest colors, added their charms to that of the far-flung lawn, neatly trimmed. ... [There was an address that outlined] what took place there during the Battle, telling of the desolation that must have existed after the Battle and contrasting it with the peaceful surroundings of the present.

> Miss Elizabeth B. Chew and Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Chew received the company into their home and proved to be the most charming and obliging of hostesses and host, winning the hearts and gratitude of the afternoon visitors, who, as historians, absorbed the first-hand information that was so delightfully imparted to them. The General Committee is under deep obligation to the Chew family for opening their homestead to the various groups on Saturday morning and afternoon, and on Tuesday.[221]

Visitors that day had an opportunity to see a reenactment of Washington's attack on the Chew Mansion. Members of the community dressed in "colonial" costumes reenacted scenes from Revolutionary history including a tete-a-tete between Peggy Chew (Betty Greenwood) and Major André (Chester A. Asher, Jr). While this pageant was in progress, members of the Chew family received "the multitudes who wished to see the glories of the interior of the historic mansion." Even the eighteenth century coach used by Chief Justice Benjamin Chew was on display (Fig. 43).

Bessy passed on her interest in family genealogy and history to her niece Anne Barringer. During the early 1940s, Anne began visiting her aunt at Cliveden at least once a week. While Bessy reminisced and retold the family stories, Anne enjoyed thoroughly the crab meat luncheon Bessy's "wonderful old cook" prepared.

Most of the time Bessy (Fig. 44) lived alone attended by a small staff. But after the Second World War, her great-nephew Lowry Stephenson and his family needed a place to live. She invited them to join her at Cliveden. They stayed in the house, temporarily, while the "Cottage" (wash-house dependency) was being renovated for their use. The Stephensons lived in the Cottage until the birth of their second child. Needing more space for their growing family, they traded houses with Lowry's younger brother David. David and his wife remained at Cliveden until his job took him away from Philadelphia. After that the Cottage was rented.

By 1953, ninety-year-old Bessy was nearly blind and came downstairs infrequently. Without her ongoing supervision, the general condition of the inside of the house deteriorated. At one point, Anne Barringer urged her, unsuccessfully, to replace the tattered curtains in her bedroom with ready-mades from John Wanamaker. When Anne pointed out that the drawing room curtains were shabby and faded, Bessy replied that she had "gotten the present curtains in 1932 and they should still be adequate." (Bessy's memory for dates was inaccurate. The curtains were purchased as part of the redecoration in 1935-1936). As further indication of the lamentable state of the house, Mrs. Barringer remembered the parlor maid, who came in by the day, coloring the treads of the stair carpet with red ink so that visitors would be unaware of its threadbare condition.

The buildings on the estate were in similarly deteriorating condition. Bessy was in no condition to supervise their maintenance, as Lowry Stephenson advised his cousin Sam in May 1958, shortly before Bessy's death:

> Several days ago I discussed with Ben, John and David the bad condition of the stable roof at Cliveden. Unless something is done in the near future, I am afraid the damage will spread to the

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[221] Pictorial Souvenir published by the Germantown Historical Society in commemoration of *The 150 Anniversary of the Battle of Germantown*, October 1 to 4, 1927. (Germantown: Fleu & Petterolf, April 1928).

> rest of the building (coach house, etc.). As I told you some time ago, it will be a rather expensive proposition to make permanent repairs.
>
> Ben feels that the three of us should look at it together sometime soon and decide what should be done.[222]

Since most of the property had belonged by title to Sam since 1936, the responsibility for its care and upkeep should have been his. Instead decisions concerning the house and grounds were shared by Sam with his brothers Ben and John and Lowry and David Stephenson representing the other heirs.

Bessy died in the summer of 1958. She had guarded Cliveden successfully. Under the provisions of her will, drawn May 5, 1949 and modified in 1949, 1951, and 1956,[223] Bessy left all her interests in the Cliveden property to her nephew Sam. These were considerable, including the parcel on Germantown Avenue and Cliveden Street that had come from her mother, her own one-sixth share of her father's estate, and her bother Oswald's one-sixth portion deeded to her in Oswald's will. The other heirs retained their interest in the site, but Bessy's portion combined with the house lot which he already owned gave Sam majority control of the property.

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[222] Letter from Lowry Chew Stephenson (Villanova, PA) to Samuel Chew (Radnor), May 25, 1958. CLIV Mss., LCS, Box 5.

[223] Codicils to the will of Elizabeth Brown Chew were drawn on May 11, 1949, November 21, 1951, and January 8, 1956.

XI: Preserving the Past

CLIVEDEN UNDER SAMUEL CHEW V, 1958-1971 [224]

Sam had owned Cliveden since 1936 but had never resided there. Since his marriage in 1941 to Barbara Dale Williams (1921-1963), called "Babbie," he and his family had lived in the family compound in Radnor, first in one of the tenant cottages and later in a house they built. Although Germantown was beginning to shift from its nineteenth-century suburban character to a more urban neighborhood, the idea of living at Cliveden was appealing. The house was larger and more impressive than their present home. Its architectural design and historic status offered inherent prestige, a value which Sam realized could be useful in his advertising business. On the negative side, there had been no major changes in the house since the redecoration of the 1930s. By any standard, Cliveden needed a major overhaul to make it acceptable for modern family life. By deciding to move to Cliveden, Sam went from being an absentee landlord to the owner-occupant of an important historic site. This transition brought with it both benefits and obligations.

Had Cliveden been anything but the historic building it was, changes could have been made with impunity. But by 1958 the preservation movement was in full gear. Although Cliveden had not yet been designated a National Historic Landmark, Sam was accountable for the historic and architectural character of the building. To his credit, he approached the challenge of modernizing the house in a relatively conservative manner.

Early in October, Philadelphia building contractor J. S. Cornell & Son contacted Sam's brother Ben about possible renovations to the house. Citing their experience in restoration work for the Germantown Fire Insurance Company at Market Square and the Morris House on South Eighth Street in Philadelphia, the firm offered their services, agreeing to meet with Sam to discuss the project and to prepare a "budget of the cost without obligation."[225] Even if these restoration projects were unfamiliar to the Chews, the family had already dealt with the firm. That March, Bessy had engaged them to repair, refinish, and hang three antique mirrors.[226] These were the pair of large white-painted looking glasses (see Fig. 40) made by James Reynolds for Chief Justice Benjamin Chew's town house and the partial-gilt looking glass (see Fig. 41) that belonged to Mrs. Walter Cope. The firm billed Bessy $251.75 for the work.

Allen Cornell met with Sam on October 11, 1958, to discuss the project. Notes from their meeting

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[224] Material for this chapter comes in part from the oral history interviews with Russell and Elmira Saunders conducted by Joel Gardner and Bruce Compton at the Saunders' home in Rocky Mount, NC on January 17 and 18, 1990. Tapes on file at Cliveden. The Saunders' worked for Samuel Chew from April 1966 until the property was turned over to the National Trust in 1972. They remained at Cliveden as caretakers for the National Trust until August 1981.

[225] Letter from Allen D. Cornell of J. S. Cornell & Son, Inc., (Philadelphia) to Benjamin Chew (Villa Nova, PA), October 3, 1958. Xerox, Cornell Files, Cliveden.

[226] Bill dated March 26, 1958. Xerox, Cornell Files, Cliveden.

covered both cosmetic and physical changes. Sam wanted the entire house to look clean and fresh. This included painting formerly unpainted plaster walls and ceilings. He asked Cornell to address the physical inadequacies of the house—closets, bathrooms, kitchen, and laundry facilities. His requirements also included developing a small apartment in the kitchen wing for servants. In a follow-up call two days later, Sam asked Cornell to assess the general condition of the roofs and to estimate the cost of repair. He requested an estimate for installing exterior security lighting "so that every part around the house will be visible at night time." He also asked for a report on the condition of the barn. "Check...to see whether...it will be less expensive to tear it [the rear portion] down and make necessary closing repairs or to repair this portion of the barn."[227]

Cornell surveyed the project, prepared a set of working drawings, and solicited competitive bids from several subcontractors. As he reviewed this material, Sam tried to balance preservation concerns against the requirements of family living. To assist in the decision-making process, he consulted museum professionals at nearby institutions. He also solicited the advice of Henry Francis du Pont, whose former home, "Winterthur," had opened as a museum in 1951. Sam knew du Pont through Alfred Harrison, a friend from Chestnut Hill, who was married to du Pont's elder daughter. Du Pont was familiar with Cliveden. He had visited the house on several occasions including a 1950 tour with the Walpole Society, a group of prestigious collectors and antiquarians. Du Pont also knew its most important furniture through illustrations in William Macpherson Hornor's *Blue Book Philadelphia Furniture* (1935).[228]

> In mid-December 1958, Sam invited du Pont to Germantown:
> Cliveden is a bit more presentable now, and most of my plans are formulated for the work that has to be done. I plan to start in late January and would really appreciate your advice before I get underway.[229]

A meeting was scheduled for shortly after the new year; Sam and du Pont reviewed the plans and looked over the things in the house. According to family tradition, du Pont encouraged Sam and Babbie to capitalize on the Revolutionary history of the house. He recommended that they eliminate anything that did not date from the eighteenth- or the early-nineteenth century, especially the Victorian furnishings. In his post visit thank you letter, du Pont wrote: "If Ben can be persuaded to lend you the pie crust table you will have enough Museum quality furniture to do the entrance floor with the exception of the little room to the back."[230] The table and other

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[227] Notes from conference between Samuel Chew and John W. Cornell, Jr., October 11, 1958, and notes from telephone conversation with Samuel Chew, October 13, 1958. Xerox, Cornell Files, Cliveden.

[228] William Macpherson Hornor, Jr.'s *Blue Book, Philadelphia Furniture, William Penn to George Washington, with Special Reference to the Philadelphia Chippendale School*, (Philadelphia, 1935), Figs. 75, 107, 108, 186, 212, 258, 262, 403, 430, 435, 437, 438, and 439.

[229] Letter from Samuel Chew (Radnor) to Henry Francis du Pont (Winterthur, DE), December 15, 1958. CLIV Mss., SC5.

[230] Letter from Henry Francis du Pont (Winterthur) to Barbara Chew, January 5, 1959. CLIV Mss., BWC. Box 1.

family-owned pieces were not immediately forthcoming, but Sam and Babbie were able to set up the first floor rooms in an arrangement more in keeping with museum presentation than with a family home.

Renovation began early in 1959. In general, Samuel decided to use standard millwork rather than go to the expense of replicating the complex profiles of the original trim. Most of the architectural changes were visually sympathetic with eighteenth century precedent. One obvious exception was Sam's decision concerning the treatment of the floors. In one of the closets, he found an unusual floorboard with its upper edges chamfered (planed).[231] Sam mistakenly believed that this "hand-tooled look" was more accurate for the eighteenth century and had all the flooring on the first and second levels of the original house beveled in this manner. He was unaware that the board in question had simply been turned over at one time.

In a concession to the needs of contemporary living, the remodeling included a new, fully-equipped kitchen in the former colonnade area and a laundry in the first floor back room of the kitchen dependency. The "school room" in the north wing was adapted for use as the family den. Sam also had a wet bar installed in the small west office on the front of the house.

Sam and Babbie (Fig. 45) were neither historians nor purists when it came to redecorating the house. Following du Pont's suggestion, they removed "pieces least appropriate to their setting" and arranged those remaining "to suit today's patterns of living."[232] Richard Barringer, Jr., Anne's son, remembers that many of the Victorian objects that did not fit the recommended scheme were sold or given away. He also remembers his uncle removing "tons of junk from the cellar and burning it."[233] Using the services of Ardmore interior decorator Helen McCormick Brady, Sam and Babbie chose "colors and materials that were both traditional and fresh."[234] The parlor was decorated in pale shades of rose, gold, and blue. The famous Affleck sofa (see Fig. 28) was reupholstered in pale gold damask. The tattered lemon- yellow curtains installed by Bessy were replaced by pale blue silk damask draperies that complemented the soft blue walls. The back stools were covered in pale rose damask. On the floor was a white pile carpet. The color scheme for the dining room walls, curtains, and seat cushions was various shades of rose-gold complementing the border on the French porcelain that may have been Sam's grandparents' wedding china. In the entrance hall, the off-white walls set off the painted-and-gilt fancy chairs, mahogany tables, pink damask swag curtains, and colorful Oriental carpets. Upstairs, brightly colored and patterned chintzes added a new look to the rooms. The result of the redecoration was a very attractive picture which created the impression of yet again reviving Cliveden's grandeur.

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[231] [Ref. for story of the inverted floorboard]

[232] Alice Winchester, "Living with antiques: Cliveden, the Germantown home of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Chew," *The Magazine Antiques* (December 1959), p. 533.

[233] Conversation with Richard Barringer, Jr., at Cliveden May 21, 1993.

[234] "The Chew House," *Vogue*, (February 1, 1960), p. 166.

The project included improvements beyond those in the main house. Sam upgraded the "Cottage" which he and Babbie rented out to a series of young people. He adapted the stable section of the barn for use as offices for his advertising agency.

Cornell & Son acted as general contractors for the project, subcontracting parts of the work to firms in and around Philadelphia. The house was ready for occupancy in June 1959 although the renovations in some of the other buildings extended into the fall. The project was expensive. In all, Sam spent about $56,500.00 making the house comfortable for his family.[235]

News of the refurbishing attracted attention. With work in progress, Sam negotiated with Alice Winchester, editor of *The Magazine Antiques*, about the possibility of a story on the house. The article, which appeared in her "Living with antiques" column in the December 1959 issue, gave the historic background of the house and the Chew family. Illustrated with several room views and photographs of individual objects (including the E. L. Henry paintings of *The Battle of Germantown* and *The Lafayette Reception*), it offered an introduction to the site for collectors and antiquarians. In February, 1960, a second article appeared in *Vogue*. This piece emphasized the redecoration and was designed to appeal to a different audience. The *Vogue* article also included views of the barn converted to accommodate Sam's advertising agency. Later that year, *National Geographic Magazine* reproduced illustrations of several of the paintings at Cliveden. This publicity brought the house and its collection to the attention of a wide audience.

Living in an historic house presented several challenges. "I know you have encountered many problems and feel sure it would be both interesting and amusing if you could share them with others,"[236] Nicholas Wainwright wrote Sam, inviting him to address some of the practical problems of historic house ownership at a meeting of preservationists in Philadelphia in October 1959.[237] Precisely what issues Sam discussed is not recorded but one concern he must have mentioned was the long-term status of the property. Albert B. Corey, State Historian for the Division of Archives and History in Albany, New York, subsequently wrote Sam describing the arrangements made by du Pont at Winterthur and the lease-tenure agreements worked out by the British National Trust. Under both systems, visitors were shown through privately-owned homes under limited conditions.[238]

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[235] Cost estimate calculated as part of the HSR.

[236] Letter from Nicholas B. Wainwright, Director of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to Samuel Chew, May 26, 1959. CLIV Mss., SC5, Box 5.

[237] Sam addressed meeting of the Society for Local and American History (later the American Association for State and Local History) in Philadelphia.

[238] Letter from Albert B. Corey, State Historian, Division of Archives and History (Albany), to Samuel Chew, October 15, 1959. CLIV Mss., SC5, Box 5.

Sam and Babbie had no immediate plans to turn their home into a museum or to open the house to the public on a regular basis. But they did show the house to visitors from museums, historic houses, and preservation groups. And they occasionally allowed special groups to tour the site. Cliveden was open for Germantown Week, May 15, 1960. The Walpole Society paid a return visit in 1962.

From 1959 until 1970, Sam used the renovated barn as the home for his advertising business. The brochure announcing the opening of the firm in 1959 capitalized on the historic associations of the house and site. It included a short piece abstracted from the article in *Antiques* with appropriate illustrations.

While Sam may have appreciated the historical associations of the site, his interest in Cliveden was entrepreneurial. His brother Ben was the historian of the family. Ben began the monumental task of sorting and organizing the voluminous family papers. A number of documents had already been donated to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1947 but the majority remained at Cliveden. Boxes of eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century letters, accounts, and other records were moved to the Carriage House for Ben's review. Through Ben's efforts, a second group of papers was transferred to the Historical Society in 1970. After Ben's death, his sister Anne Barringer continued sorting the papers. On behalf of the Chew family, Sam's brother John T. Chew, Sr. placed a third group of documents with the Historical Society in 1982.

Sam and Babbie and their teenage children "Sammy" and Anne were cared for by a small staff. Their principal live-in servant was an Indian cook, Abdul Receed, who occupied the new apartment in the kitchen wing. Sam enjoyed the highly seasoned meals Abdul prepared; Babbie apparently did not share Sam's enthusiasm. A cleaning woman and a laundress lived off the estate. Bessy's long-time chauffeur, Walter Greene, assisted Sam with the gardening and care of the yard. Greene also lived off the property in a small house he had inherited from Bessy.

Sam and Babbie joined in the social activities of the city. They had a wide circle of friends whom they entertained at Cliveden using the rooms in the front of the house—the entrance hall, the two small offices (one with the wet bar), parlor, and dining room. Sammy and Anne entertained their teenage friends in the den, the former school room in the north wing. Where their ancestors once had studied, they now watched television and played rock and roll music by such groups as the Rolling Stones.

When Babbie Chew died unexpectedly in September 1963 at the age of 42, Sam was stunned. "Cliveden will never be the same without Babbie," he wrote Henry du Pont in reply to the latter's letter of condolence. "But her charm & good taste is everywhere for me & the children to enjoy—& we had many happy times here together.."[239] For Sam, the house and Babbie's imprint on it were important. He confessed to du Pont, "I hope I can keep the house going for the next generation."[240] Babbie's death inevitably altered family life at Cliveden. In a

[239] Letter from Samuel Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Francis du Pont (Winterthur), October 1963. Winterthur Museum Archives, HFD Correspondence, Box 271.

[240] Letter from Samuel Chew (Cliveden) to Henry Francis du Pont (Winterthur), October 1963. Winterthur Museum

relatively short time, twenty-one year old Sammy moved to California to pursue an acting career. Two years later Anne was married, and although she and her husband lived in the Cottage for a while, Sam was alone in the house.

In 1966 Sam remarried; Audrey McLean and her three children energized the household and contributed to a more relaxed atmosphere. To his existing staff—Abdul Receed, Walter Greene, Molly the cleaning woman, and the laundress—Sam added a black couple, Russell and Elmira Saunders (Fig. 46), in April 1966. Russell's job consisted of "whatever came to hand;" he ran errands, took the children to school, served dinners, and occasionally helped Walter Greene with the gardening. Elmira soon relieved Abdul as cook since Audrey apparently shared her predecessor's dislike of Indian cooking.

Walter, Molly, and the laundress came in by the day. Only Abdul and Russell and Elmira lived in. Abdul continued to occupy the apartment in the kitchen dependency, sharing the space with Sam's two Weimaraners. The Saunders lived on the third floor of the house. The rooms had radiator heat, but summer cooling was left to fans and natural air circulation. After Abdul left and Sam's daughter Anne moved out of the Cottage, Russell and Elmira had the option of living in either the wash-house or the kitchen dependency. They chose the kitchen wing.

Molly did the heavy cleaning. In her absence Elmira made the beds. Russell remembers that Sam also would make his bed if no one was available to do it. When Molly was not there, Elmira took care of the upstairs while Russell tended to the down stairs. Elmira's principal duty was to prepare the family dinner. She also cooked breakfast for Audrey's children, Russell and herself. When Sam and Audrey entertained, Elmira prepared the meal; Russell served as butler.

Sam and Audrey did not do a great deal of formal entertaining. Mostly they had small informal parties for their friends. One important exception was the summer debutante party Sam hosted at Cliveden for his niece Lisa Bennett in 1968.

Russell Saunders remembers Cliveden as a bright house. Unlike earlier generations who shuttered the house at night for security, Sam and Audrey kept the shutters open. The first floor rooms remained much as Sam and Babbie had arranged them, reserved for entertaining. Audrey's children and Sam's dogs were discouraged from entering these areas unsupervised.

According to Russell and Elmira, in the late 1960's Cliveden was a relaxed house in which the family was free to raid the kitchen. Sam rose about 5:30 in the morning, long before the rest of the household. Often he would visit the local farmers' market before breakfast and return with a variety of meat and produce. He apparently enjoyed cooking and it was not unusual for him to prepare his own breakfast. Elmira prepared the children's breakfast, which they ate in the kitchen before Russell drove them to school. After the children left, Audrey usually breakfasted on a tray in the den. Then she outlined the day's activities with the staff. Sam worked

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Archives, HFD Correspondence, Box 271.

in his office in the coach house until lunch time when he returned to fix lunch for Audrey and himself. After lunch, he spent the rest of the day at work while Audrey played tennis or golf. She rarely spent the afternoon at Cliveden. The evening meal, the only formal one of the day, was served in the dining room between 6:00 and 6:30.

Like most "couples" in large households, Russell and Elmira worked a six-day week with every other weekend off. Their day started with breakfast and continued through dinner. They had some free time after lunch and generally were out of the kitchen by 8:00 p.m. Unless the Chews were entertaining, the Saunders' evenings were their own. In their free time, they visited friends in Germantown or family in the city. Occasionally their friends came to see them at Cliveden. They also devoted a good deal of time to activities at their church, the Grace Baptist Church on Johnson Street across Germantown Avenue. On weekends off, they travelled to Washington, D.C. to visit relatives.

Cliveden's six-acre park was an anomaly in urban Germantown. In the summer, when the trees were full, the Saunders "felt like they were ten miles from Philadelphia." Outside the walls was another world, increasingly urban and hostile. For the Chew's Germantown neighbors, Sam was part of the community. Russell observed that people in the neighborhood respected Sam so "they didn't give him any trouble." They were used to the two dogs roaming the estate at night. They also were used to seeing Sam cutting the grass or raking leaves with Walter Greene. When Walter finally retired, Richard Warfield took his place as gardener.

Sam made few changes to the Cliveden landscape. He added the current flagstone terrace behind the house. His most important change was the swimming pool he installed in the site that had been Bessy's garden. Both features reflected the accepted accoutrements of 1960s suburban living.

The question of Cliveden's future was a recurring concern to Sam. Normally, the house would have passed to his son, but Sammy's career kept him on the west coast. Even if he were to move east, he would be more likely to choose suburban Radnor over urban Germantown. Anne and her family had moved to Chestnut Hill.

Family legend suggests that even before the 1970s, Philadelphia friend James Biddle, then President of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, spoke to Sam at a cocktail party about the possibility of transferring Cliveden to the Trust. Sam politely declined being firmly committed to keeping Cliveden in family hands. If Sammy were disinclined to move east, perhaps Anne and her family would consider relocating to Cliveden.

In August 1970, a fire bomb tossed by unknown arsonists seriously damaged the coach house and barn. A number of valuable family artifacts including the famous battle doors, a set of twelve Windsor chairs purchased in 1800, and two eighteenth-century vehicles (a coach and a carriage) were lost in the fire. Sam was justifiably concerned for the safety of the house. Despite his best efforts—security fence, dogs, and exterior lighting—Cliveden was vulnerable. Believing that the property could be better protected by the National Trust, he reluctantly reconsidered their tentative offer.

Sam's decision was also prompted by several personal crises. His marriage to Audrey was unraveling so

he was facing the prospect of living alone in a too-large house with only Elmira and Russell to look after him. Sammy was established in California and showed no signs of returning east for more than the occasional visit. The 1972 deaths of his daughter Anne and his brother Ben further isolated him. The Trust proposal now assumed more obvious appeal. It would assure Cliveden's preservation, allow Sam to distance himself from painful memories, and be financially rewarding.

Negotiations with the National Trust were completed and the contract signed in January 1972. This transfer ends the story of Cliveden under Chew family. It does not, however, finish the family's interest in and association with the site. At Sam's request, Russell and Elmira Saunders stayed on after the Trust took over; they retired in August 1981. Although Sam distanced himself from activities at Cliveden, several other family members continued to be associated with the site, serving on the property's Board of Directors.

Epilogue

The story of Cliveden illustrates the bond linking the present to the past and offers direction for the future. Today, visitors experience the site in varied ways. Those interested in architecture admire Germantown's most elaborate eighteenth-century country house and marvel at the sophisticated columnar screen that graces its front hall. Others are attracted to the collection of eighteenth- and early nineteenth century household furnishings representing the craftsmanship of some of Philadelphia's finest artisans. Political and military specialists are drawn to Cliveden because of its prominence in Revolutionary history. Social historians use the stories of the people who lived and worked here as a window to view the past. City planners and environmentalists praise the site for preserving an open green-space in an increasingly densely populated urban setting.

An accident of history (the Battle of Germantown) transformed what began as the family's summer retreat into a colonial landmark. But history was not the Chews' primary motive for preserving the house and grounds. On a personal level, Cliveden was, quite simply, their home. Over the years, it was this thread that bound all generations of the family. It came to symbolize their place in the life of Philadelphia. Eventually, the recognized architectural quality of the house and its history added stature to the family even when their financial fortunes waned. "We are most unwilling even to think of giving up our home," wrote Mary Johnson Brown Chew about 1891 in response to a City Council proposal to annex the property for the city. "Nothing would please us better than to have it (Cliveden) kept as it is forever."[241] This wish was not to be fulfilled. By the 1960s Mary's grandson Samuel Chew realized that his family could no longer bear the responsibility for preserving the house. To assure appropriate stewardship for the property in the future, he took the steps that led to Cliveden's transfer to the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

As the past and the present combine to shape Cliveden's future as a cultural and educational resource for the community, there is a sense of continuity. Today, the house and grounds are relatively unchanged from their late-nineteenth century appearance. The household furnishings are those formerly used at Cliveden or at the family's other residences in town. Except for the introduction of new heating, lighting and plumbing systems, Benjamin Chew, Sr. probably would still feel at home in the house he built in 1763.

But he would find that there are significant changes as well. What once was a private home is now a public facility. In the spacious front hall where his son entertained Lafayette and his great-great-granddaughter Bessy sat in the evening listening to her radio, a class of school children (Fig. 47) sits on the rug and learns about Bessy's ancestors whose portraits hang on the surrounding walls. Nearby, another group learns about the cultural and economic diversity of artisans and servants (and slaves) that kept the house and grounds functioning

[241] Letter from Mary Johnson Brown Chew to Mr. Muhany, undated but probably early 1891. Property of Elizabeth Chew Bennett.

efficiently. Visitors of all ages can see the effects of the actual Battle of Germantown in the marks of the bullet holes preserved in the walls or they can observe a re-enactment of the event held annually on the first Saturday in October (Fig. 48).

If Cliveden has become something which the Chews might never have imagined, its transfer to the National Trust provides the sense of continuity that the family desired and speaks to their spirit of history and careful preservation.

APPENDIX I

BRIEF GENEALOGY OF THE CHEW FAMILY NOTING THE MAJOR FIGURES AT CLIVEDEN

I. **Benjamin Chew [BC]** (Nov. 29, 1722–Jan. 20, 1810)

A. married (1) Mary Galloway (d. Nov. 9, 1755), Jun. 13, 1747

1. Mary (Mar. 10, 1748–Jul. 22, 1794); m. Alexander Wilcocks (d. 1801), May 18, 1768

2. Anna Maria [Nancy] (Nov. 27, 1749–Nov. 19, 1812)

3. Elizabeth (Sep. 10, 1751–Apr. 4, 1842); m. Edward Tilghman, Jr. (1750–1815), May 26, 1774

4. Sarah (Nov. 15, 1753–1826); m. John Galloway (d. 1810), Oct. 23, 1786

5. Henrietta (Sep., 1755–Jun., 1756)

B. married (2) **Elizabeth Oswald [EOC]** (Aug. 2, 1734–May 16, 1819), Sep. 12, 1757

6. **Benjamin Chew, Jr. [BC2]** (Sep. 30, 1758–Apr. 30, 1844); m. Katherine Banning (Jul. 6, 1770–Mar. 19, 1855), Dec. 11, 1788

7. Margaret [Peggy] Oswald (Dec. 17, 1760–May 29, 1824); m. John Eager Howard (1752–1827), May 23, 1787

8. Joseph (Mar. 9, 1763–Sep. 1764)

9. Juliana (Apr. 8, 1765–Aug. 11, 1845); m. Philip Nicklin (d. Nov., 1806), Apr. 1, 1793

10. Henrietta (Aug. 15, 1767–Mar. 8, 1848)

11. Sophia (Nov. 13, 1769–Sep. 3, 1841); m. Henry Philips (d. Feb. 11, 1800), Oct. 3, 1796

12. Maria (Dec. 22, 1771–Mar. 20, 1840)

13. Harriet (Oct. 22, 1775–Apr. 10, 1861); m. Charles Carroll, Jr. (1775–1825), Jul. 15, 1800

14. Catherine [Kitty] (May 3, 1779–May 28, 1831)

II. **Benjamin Chew, Jr. [BC2]** (Sep. 30, 1758–Apr. 30, 1844) and **Katherine (Banning) Chew [KBC]** (Jul. 6, 1770–Mar. 19, 1855)

1. Samuel Chew (1789–Mar. 21, 1795)

2. Eliza (1791–Mar. 31, 1795)

3. **Benjamin Chew III [BC3]** (Dec. 5, 1793–Aug., 1864); m. Elizabeth Margaret Tilghman (1796–June 15, 1817), Jul. 11, 1816

   (a) William Tilghman Chew (Jun. 7, 1817–Apr. 6, 1820)

4. Samuel Chew [SC2] (Jun. 19, 1795–Aug. 21, 1841)

5. John Chew (Jan. 23, 1797–Aug., 1815)

6. Eliza Margaretta [ECM] (Nov. 19, 1798–Feb., 1874); m. James Murray Mason (Nov. 3, 1798–Apr. 26, 1871), Jul. 25, 1822

7. **Henry Banning Chew [HBC]** (Dec. 11, 1800–Dec. 12, 1866)
   married (1) Harriet Ridgely (Feb. 13, 1803–Oct. 20, 1835), May 14, 1822; see below.
   married (2) Elizabeth Ann Ralston (d. May 27, 1862), Mar. 10, 1839; no issue.

8. William White Chew (Apr. 12, 1803–1851)

9. **Anne Sophia Penn Chew [ASPC]** (Mar. 18, 1805–May 9, 1892)

10. Joseph Turner Chew (Dec. 12, 1806–1835)

11. Anthony Banning Chew (Jan. 24, 1809–Feb., 1854)

12. Catherine Maria (May 12, 1811–Oct. 27, 1811)

13. Oswald Chew (May 23, 1813–Jun., 1824)

III. **Henry Banning Chew [HBC]** (Dec. 11, 1800–Dec. 12, 1866) and Harriet Ridgely (Feb. 13, 1803–Oct. 20, 1835).

1. Catherine (Aug. 19, 1823–Feb. 24, 1824)

2. Priscilla Ridgely (Dec. 3, 1824–Feb. 11, 1837)

3. Charles Ridgely Chew (Jan. 20, 1827–Oct., 1875)

4. Benjamin Chew (May 27, 1828–Jul. 20, 1829)

5. Benjamin Chew [BC4] (Jun. 1, 1830–Sep. 28, 1885)

6. **Samuel Chew [SC3]** (Jan. 28, 1832–Jan. 10, 1887); m. Mary Johnson Brown (Dec. 6, 1839–July 27, 1927), June 20, 1861

7. Achsah Carroll Chew (Jan. 22, 1834–Jul. 12, 1834)

8. Henry Banning Chew, Jr. (Oct. 19, 1835–1855)

IV. **Samuel Chew [SC3]** (Jan. 28, 1832–Jan. 10, 1887) and **Mary Johnson Brown Chew [MJBC]** (Dec. 6, 1839–Jul. 27, 1927)

1. Anne Sophia Penn Chew (Jun. 17, 1862–Jan. 13, 1931); m. Vere Speke Alston (1862–1931), Sep. 1, 1898

2. **Elizabeth Brown Chew [EBC, "Bessy"]** (Nov. 19, 1863–Jul. 15, 1958)

3. David Sands Brown Chew [DSBC] (Mar. 3, 1866–May 5, 1934); m. Bertha E. Walton (1870–Mar. 3, 1937)

4. **Samuel Chew [SC4]** (Apr. 30, 1871–Jul. 5, 1919)

5. Benjamin Chew [BC5] (Jul. 31, 1878–Mar. 30, 1938); m. Anne Thompson (Aug. 12, 1880–Mar. 15, 1950), Apr. 22, 1912

6. Oswald Chew (May 24, 1880–Dec. 6, 1949); m. Ada Knowlton (d. 1948), 1908

V.

A. David Sands Brown Chew [DSBC] (Mar 3, 1866–May 5, 1934) and Bertha E. Walton (1870–Mar. 3, 1937)

1. Mary Evelyn Chew (1896–1950); m. (1) Lowry B. Stephenson (1889–1939); m. (2) Charles C. Windsor (d. 1980)

a. Lowry Chew Stephenson [LCS] (b. Mar. 3, 1917); m. Nancy I. S. Downs (b. Mar. 28, 1918), Feb. 14, 1941

b. David Chew Stephenson (b. 1922)

2. David Sands Brown Chew, Jr. (1897–1975)

B. Benjamin Chew [BC5] (Jul. 31, 1875–1938) and Anne Thompson Chew (1880–1950)

1. **Anne Sophia Penn Chew [AB]** (Mar. 24, 1913–Aug. 7, 1989); m. Richard W. Barringer (May 3, 1909–May 19, 1973), Nov. 4, 1940

2. Benjamin Chew, Jr. [BC6] (May 10, 1914–Jan. 29, 1972)

3. **Samuel Chew [SC5]** (1915–Jun. 7, 1989); m. (1) Barbara Dale Williams (Nov. 1, 1921–Sep., 1963), Sep. 15, 1941; m. (2) Audrey McLean, 1966

4. John Thompson Chew [JTC] (Apr. 13, 1918–1988); m. Margaret McCarney Kerr (b. Feb. 6, 1921), Mar. 19, 1943

5. Elizabeth Oswald Chew [ECB] (b. Nov. 7, 1922); m. Edwin E. Bennett, Dec. 3, 1950.

SOURCES

MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

Family Papers:

The most important resource materials for this study are the collection of Chew Family Papers on deposit at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Estimated at over 200,000 documents, this collection includes letters, memoranda, accounts, deeds, and administrative records that document the personal and professional lives of five generations of the Chew family. These papers were donated by the Chew family in 1947, 1970, and 1982. A very useful guide to the Society's collection was prepared in 1983-84 by Arlene Shaner working with Anne Chew Barringer. The guide is arranged in a generational and a chronological pattern.

A much smaller collection of family papers —— mostly correspondence and accounts —— survives at Cliveden. Although they include some eighteenth-century material, most items date from the later nineteenth- and the twentieth centuries. An index of these documents is in progress.

A third group of documents —— correspondence, accounts, and copies of legal papers —— remains in family hands. Like those at Cliveden, most date from the later periods.

Related Papers:

The Chew family is tied through marriage to a number of prominent Maryland families. Additional Chew family material can be found in the papers of the Tilghman, Howard, Carroll, Galloway, and Ridgely families on deposit at the Maryland Historical Society.

History Files:

A detailed analysis of Chew family activities arranged by traditional anthropological categories and filed chronologically is available at Cliveden.

Historic Structures Report and Historic Landscape Report:

At Cliveden there are also copies of the Historic Structures Report (HSR) and the Historic Landscape Report (HLR) prepared by Martin Jay Rosenblum and Associates. The HSR documents the construction and modifications to the buildings on the property. The HLR provides an analysis of the landscape generally including garden plantings and changes to the physical grounds.

PRINTED MATERIALS

The selected bibliography listed below includes both the sources cited or referred to in the text and the wide-ranging scholarly works and articles drawn on for evidence and interpretation. To assist readers, the references are grouped by category using short entry citations.

Background on Philadelphia and Germantown:

The most recent overview of Philadelphia history can be found in Russell F. Weigley's *Philadelphia A 300-Year History*. Earlier histories of the city, especially those by John Fanning Watson and Scharf and Wescott, also provide useful background material. The two most useful studies of Germantown are Harry M. and Margaret B. Tinkcom and Grant Simon's *Historic Germantown* and Stephanie G. Wolf's *Urban Village*. John W. Jackson's *With the British Army* details the British occupation of Philadelphia during the Revolution.

The Story of Cliveden:

Burton Konkle's book on Chief Justice *Benjamin Chew*, commissioned by the Chew family, is the only published biography of any member of the family. Jennifer Anderson-Lawrence's unpublished Master's thesis, *"The Colonial Revival at Cliveden,"* investigates the preservation activities of Samuel Chew III and his wife Mary Johnson Brown Chew at the time of the Centennial. Additional biographical data on other members of the Chew family is available in such standard references as Watson's *Annals* and Scharf and Wescott's *History of Philadelphia*.

Cliveden's architecture and history are cited in such early studies as Eberlein & Lippincott's *Colonial Homes of Philadelphia*. General information on the house and its contents can be found in articles by Raymond V. Shepherd, Jr., Hope Coppage Hendrickson, and Alice Winchester. Margaret B. Tinkcom's 1964 article, *"Cliveden: The Building of a Philadelphia Country Seat,"* provided the only scholarly analysis of the construction of the house prior to the recently completed Historic Structures Report.

Servants and Domestic Activities:

Sharon D. Salinger's *To Serve Well and Faithfully* addresses the history of servitude in Pennsylvania noting the transition from an indentured and slave work force to wage-earning servants for hire. Billy G. Smith's *The `Lower Sort'* recreates the daily lives of Philadelphia's laboring class in the second half of the eighteenth century. Karie Diethorn's *"Domestic Servants"* offers an overview of domestic service in Philadelphia from 1780 to 1830.

There is no published site-specific material on the domestic operation at Cliveden. Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett's *At Home* sets the general context for household operations. Information on the duties of servants in the eighteenth century is based on material in Eliza Smith's *The Compleat Housewife*. Robert Roberts' *The House Servant's Directory* provided clues for servant activities in the nineteenth century. Susan Strasser's

Never Done presents a picture of household operations in the later nineteenth- and twentieth centuries.

Gardens, Landscape and Land Use:

Elizabeth P. McLean's article, *"Town and Country Gardens,"* provides the context for eighteenth century gardening. Articles by Edwin C. Jellett, Reed Engle, and Margaret Tinkcom focus on the gardens of Germantown. A number of eighteenth and nineteenth garden manuals including William Cobbett's *The American Gardener*, Hibbert & Buist's *American Flower Garden Directory*, and Bernard M'Mahon's *American Garden Calendar* assisted in the identification of plant materials and gardening practices. Although the Chew library contained few books on gardening and farming, Benjamin Chew Jr. had access to a variety of publications on experimental farming and crop rotation through his membership in the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture. This organization's library is available in the Rare Books Collection of Van Pelt Library at the University of Pennsylvania.

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Fig. 1: Portrait of *Benjamin Chew* (1722- 1800), painted by James Reid Lanbdin (1807- 1889), 1874. The painting was based on a silhouette from real life. (NT 73.55.39)

Fig. 2: Portrait of *Elizabeth Oswald Chew* (1732–1819), painted by John Wollaston (active 1736-1767), 1758. (Painting held by County Historical Society, photograph via NT 72.41.8)

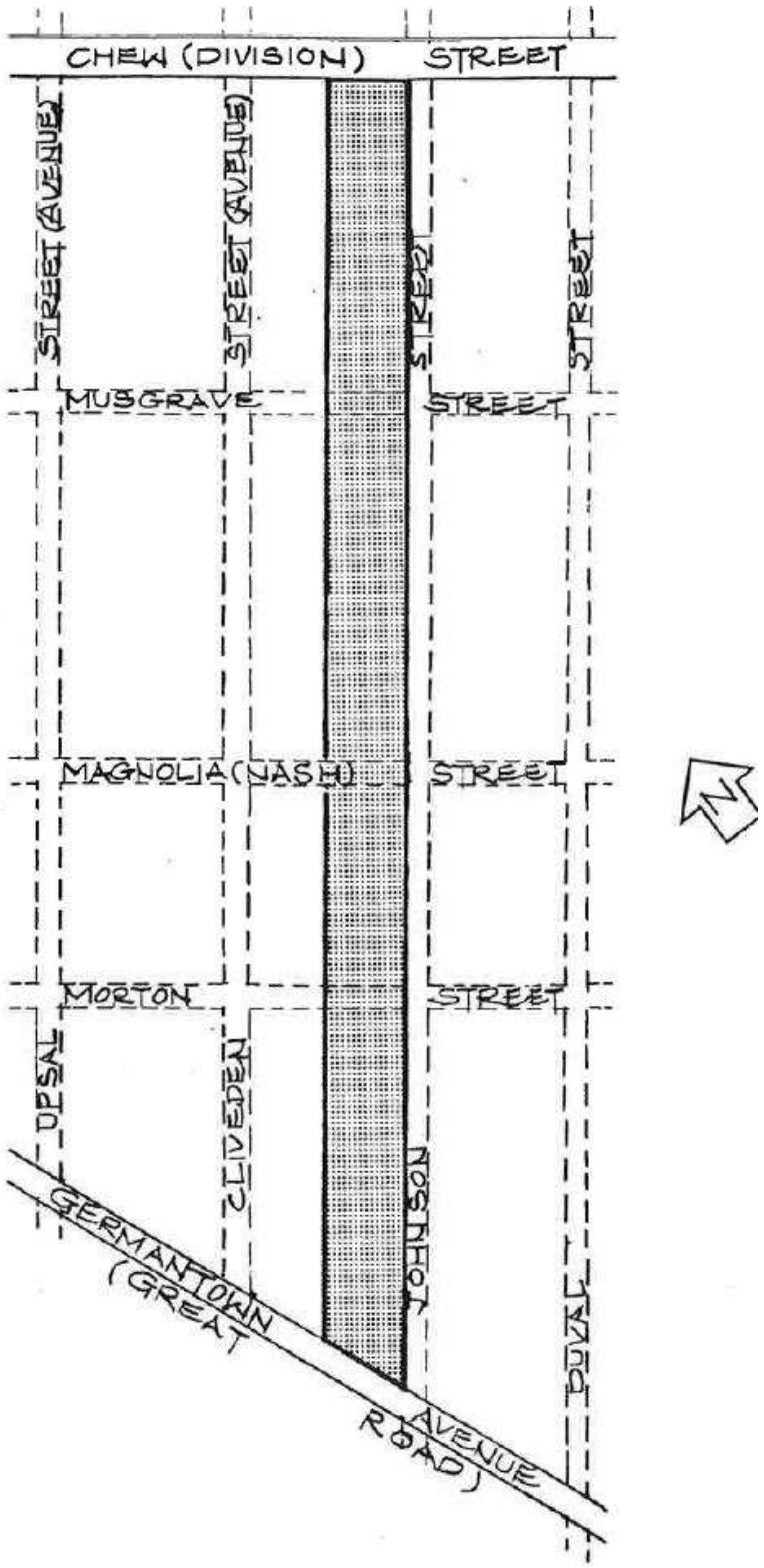


Fig. 3: Plot plan for Cliveden site showing land purchases. The land was bought by Benjamin Chew from Edward Penington, 1763. (Adapted from Historic Structures Report, prepared by Martin Jay Rosenblum, R. A., & Associates, 1993).

Fig. 4: Front facade of the Main House. (Photograph by Jack Boucher for Historic American Buildings Survey, 1972).

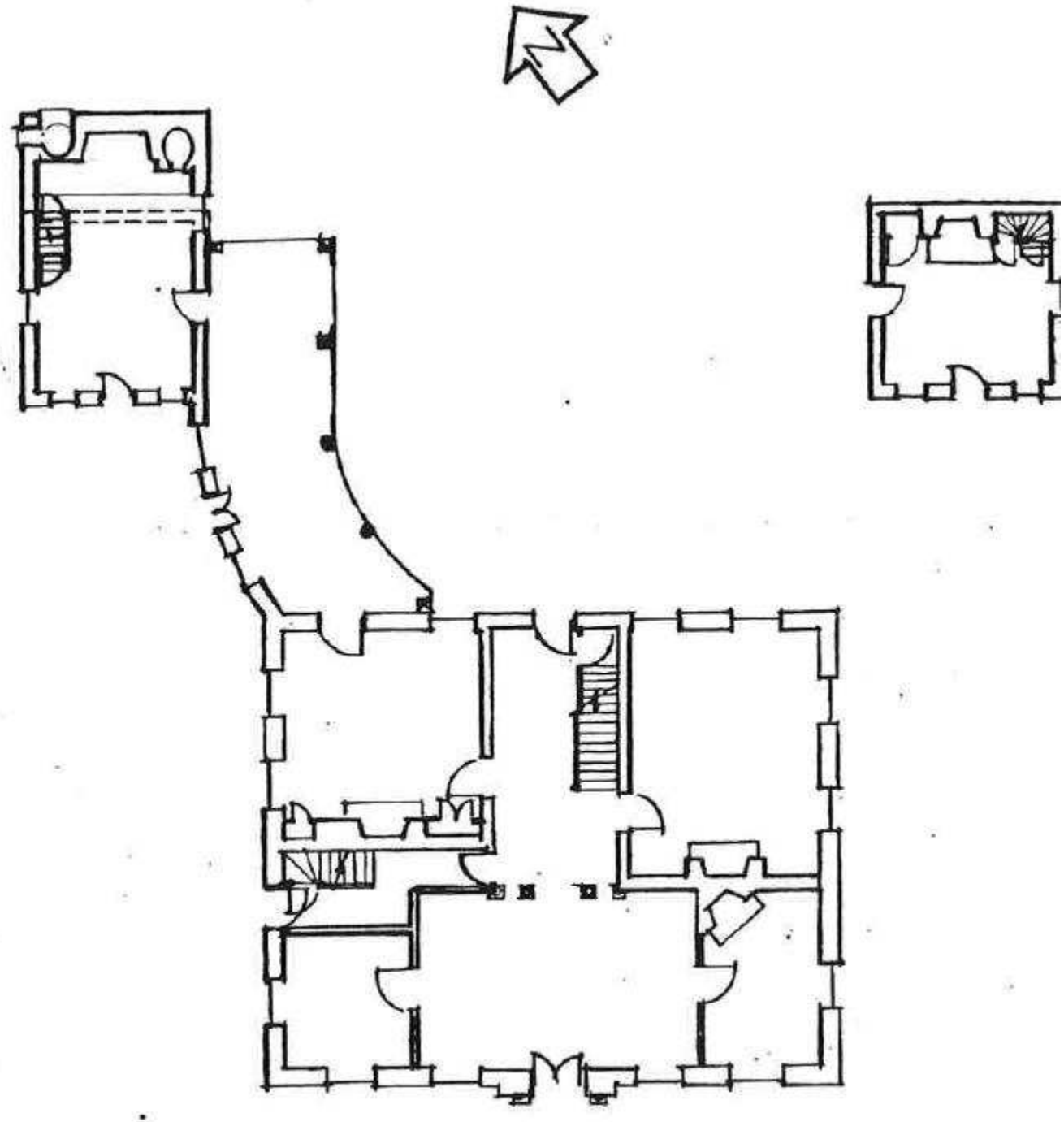


Fig. 5: Plan of first floor, 1763-1776. Kitchen extended c.1765. Colonnade added c.1776. (Adapted from HSR; drawing by Peter Andrew Copp).

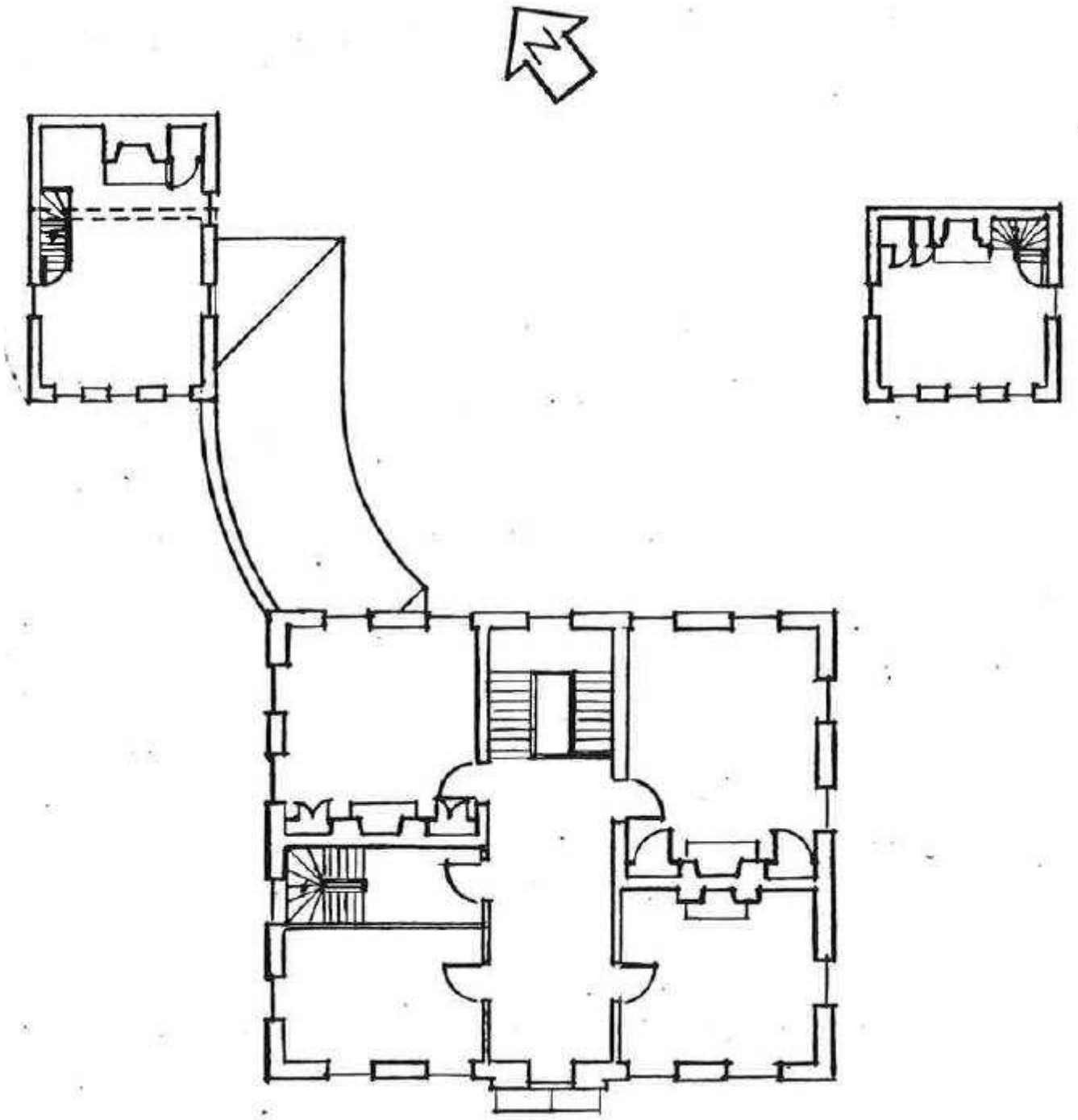


Fig. 6: Plan of second floor of the Main House. 1763- 1776. (Adapted from HSR; drawing by Peter Andrew Copp).

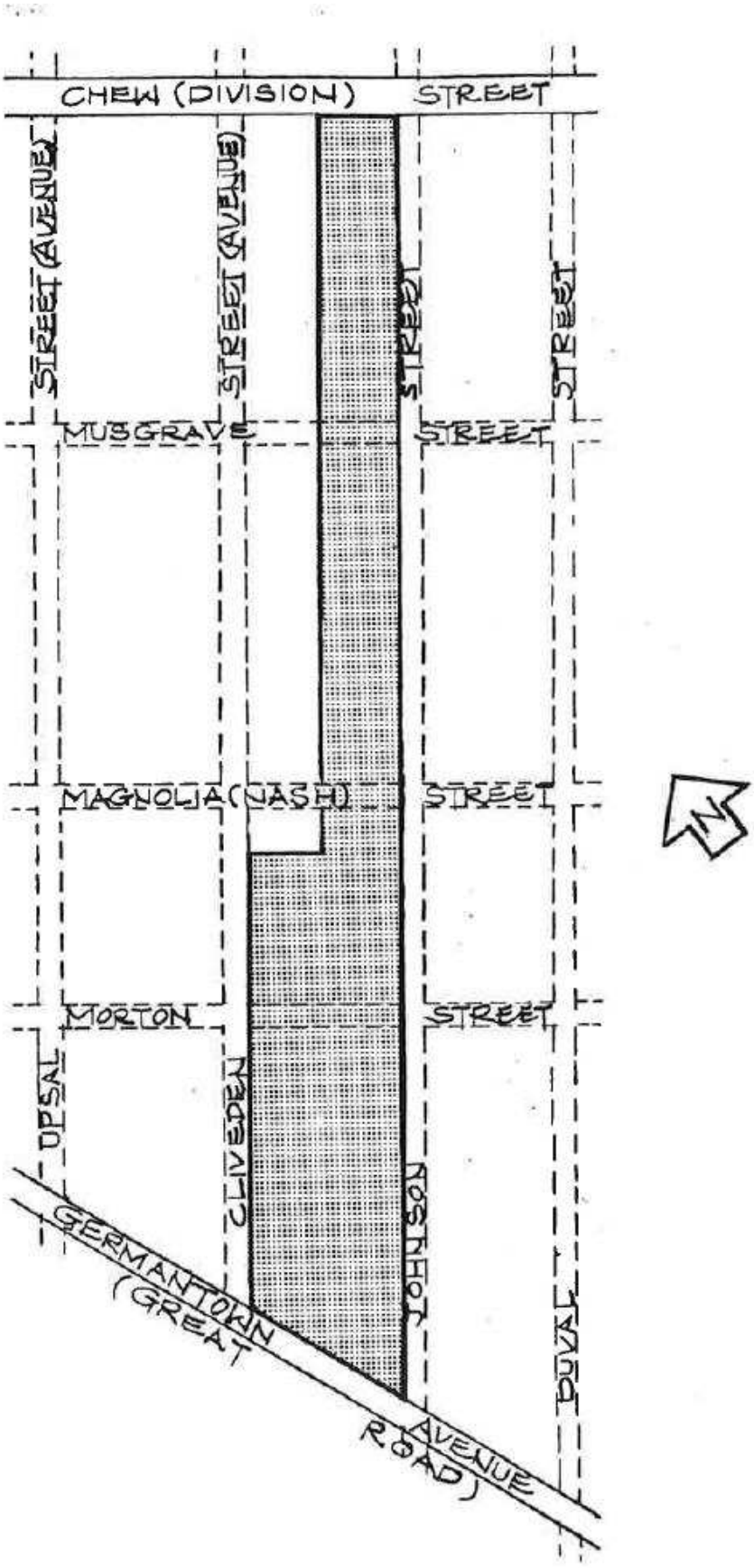


Fig. 7: Plot plan showing land bought by Benjamin Chew from Richard Johnson, 1765. (Adapted from HSR; drawing by Peter Andrew Copp).

Fig. 8: Medal commemorating the British victory at Germantown and Lt. Col. Thomas Musgrave's defense of Cliveden, October 4, 1777. Engraved by John Milton, the medal was struck in England in 1780. It shows the landscape in front of the house. (NT 73.55.21.1*)*

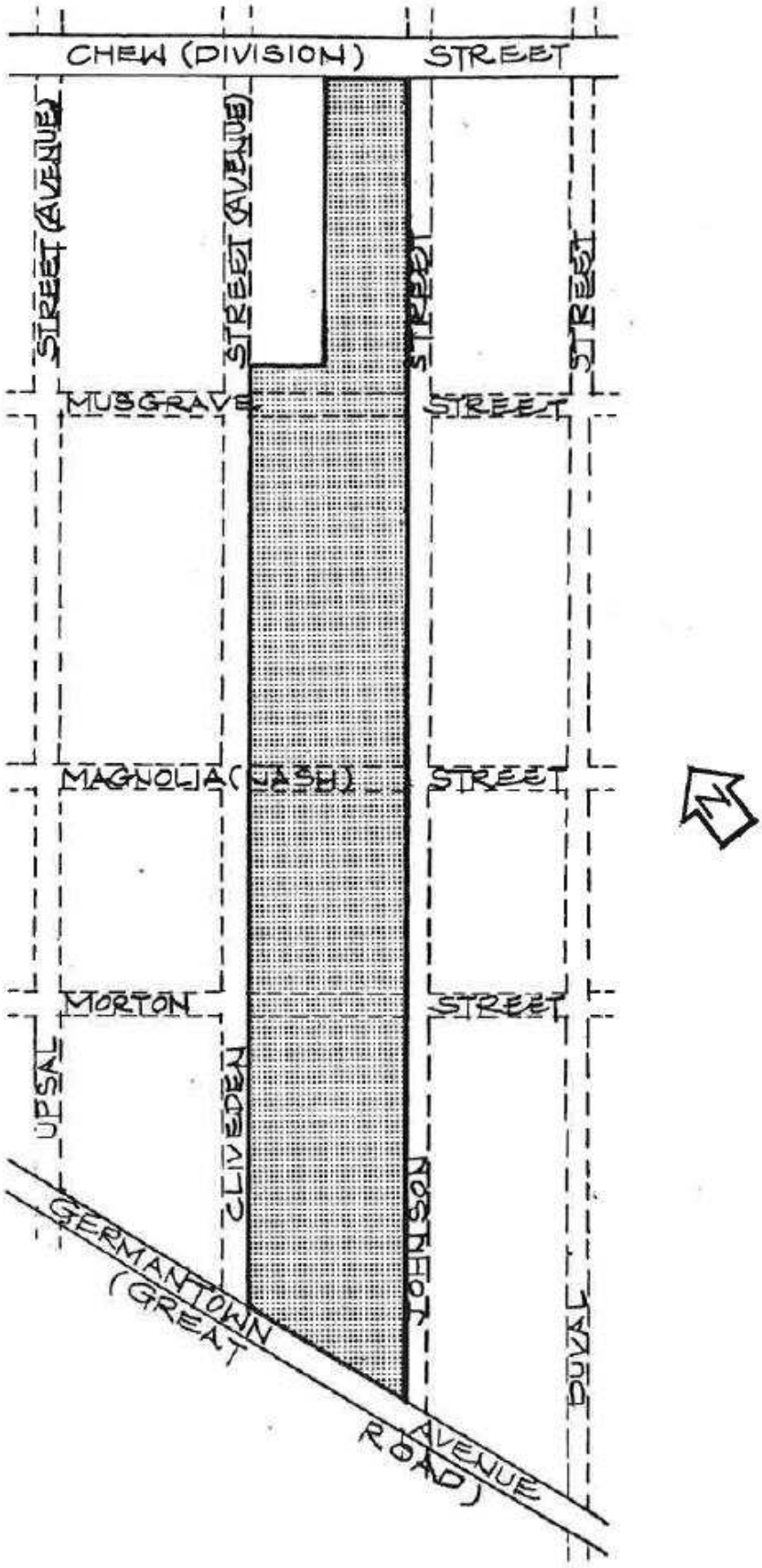
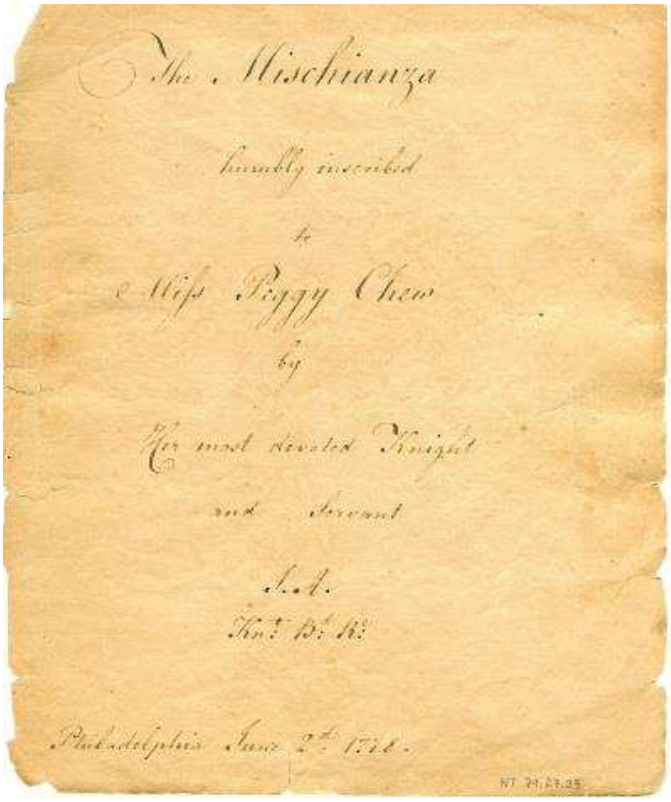


Fig. 9: Plot plan showing land bought by Benjamin Chew from Thomas Nedrow, 1776. (Adapted from· HSR; drawing by Peter Andrew Copp).


The Mischianza

humbly inscribed

to

Miss Peggy Chew

by

Her most devoted Knight

and Servant

J. A.

Knt. Bs. Rs.

Philadelphia June 2d 1778.

NT 79.27.23

Fig. 10: Title page and illustration from the manuscript description of the "Mischianza," held in Philadelphia May 18, 1778, as a farewell fete for General Sir William Howe. The manuscript written by Major John Andre and sent to Peggy Chew, June 2, 1778. (NT 79.27.23)

Fig. 11: Painting of the *Battle of Germantown*, by an unknown British artist, c. 1780-1800. (CL 91.1)

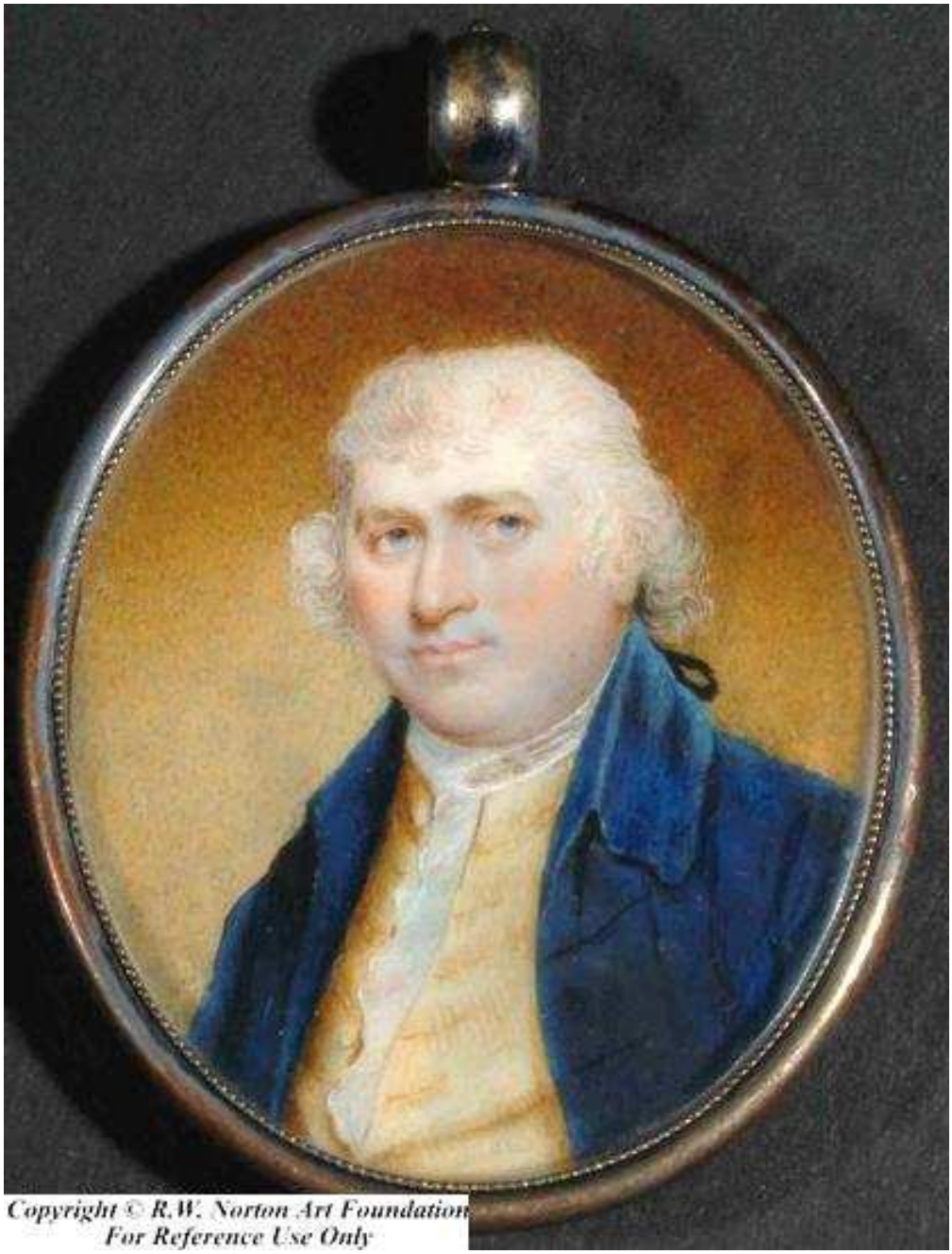


Fig. 12: Miniature portrait on ivory of *Blair McClenachan* (d.1812), painted by Walter Robertson (c.1750-1802), c. 1794-1795. (Courtesy of the R. W. Norton Art Foundation)

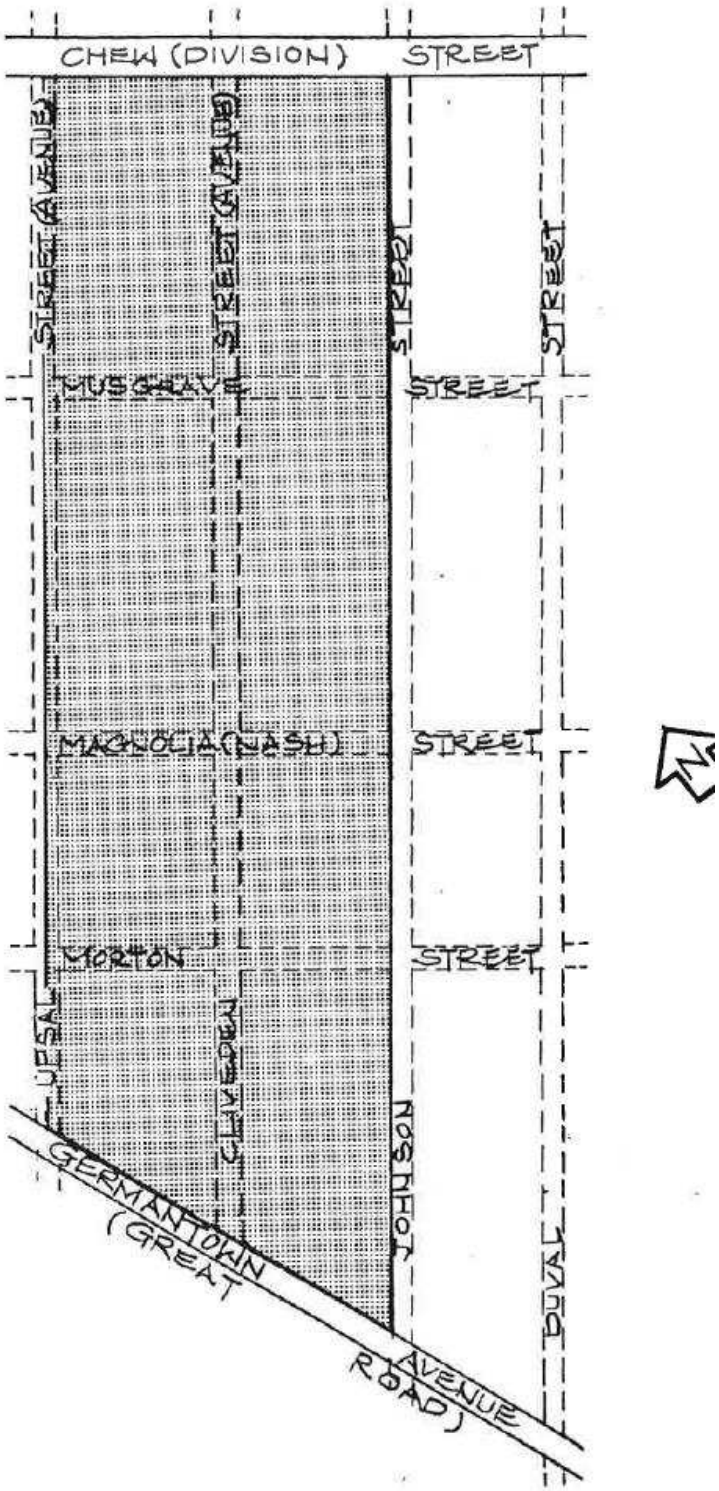


Fig. 13: Plot plan showing land bought by Blair McClenachan from Matthew Raser, 1789. (Adapted from HSR; drawing by Peter Andrew Copp)

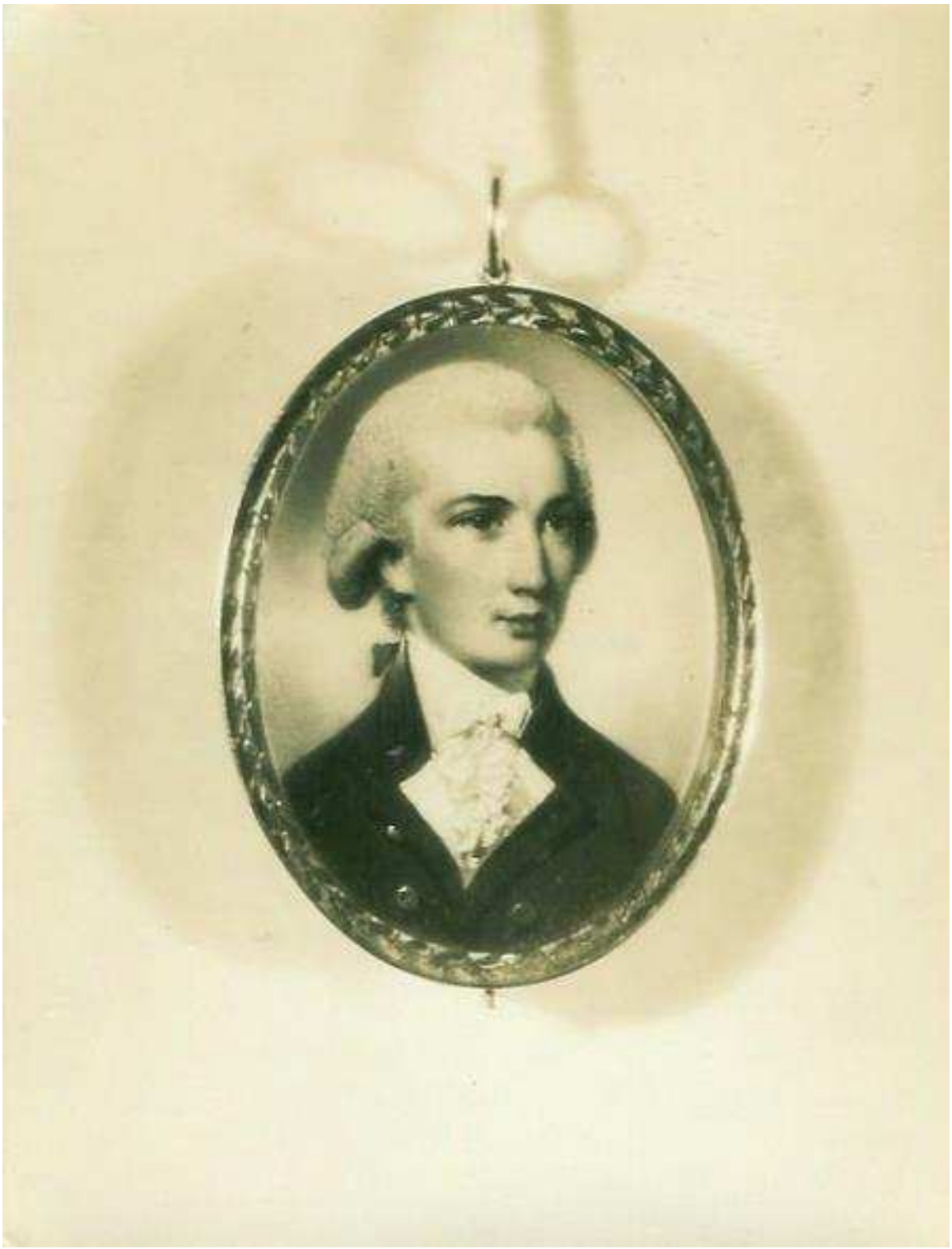


Fig. 14: Miniature portrait of *Benjamin Chew, Jr*. (1758-1844), painted by an unknown English artist while Chew was in London, 1784-1786. (NT 72.39.4)

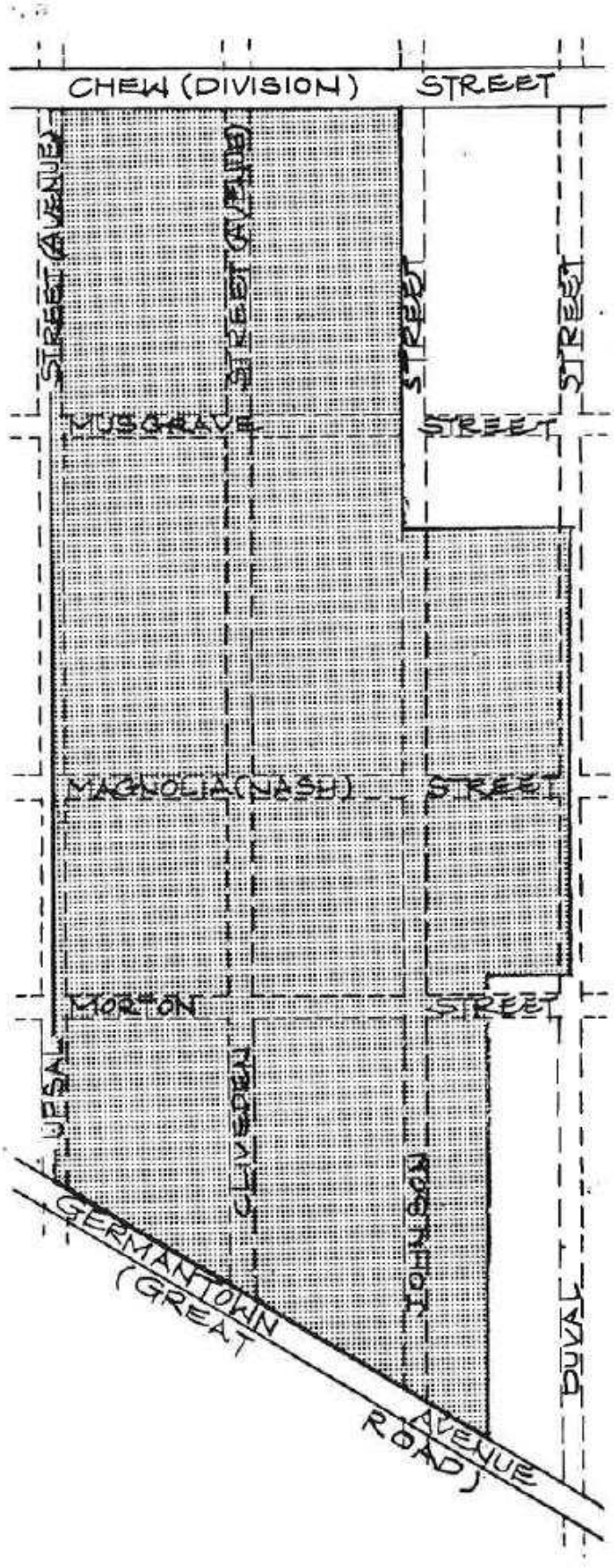


Fig. 15: Plot plan showing land bought by Benjamin Chew, Jr., from Jacob Clemens, 1817. (Adapted from HSR; drawing by Peter Andrew Copp)

Fig. 16: Pastel portrait of *Anne Sophia Penn Chew* (1805-1892), drawn by an unknown artist, c. 1860. (NT 78.44.91)

Fig. 17: Photograph of *Katherine Banning Chew* (1770-1855), 1854. Photograph by F. Gutekunst, tinted by Spieler, Dec. 1864; taken from daguerreotype by Rehn, 1854. (NTARC.CL.2.I.KBC.02)

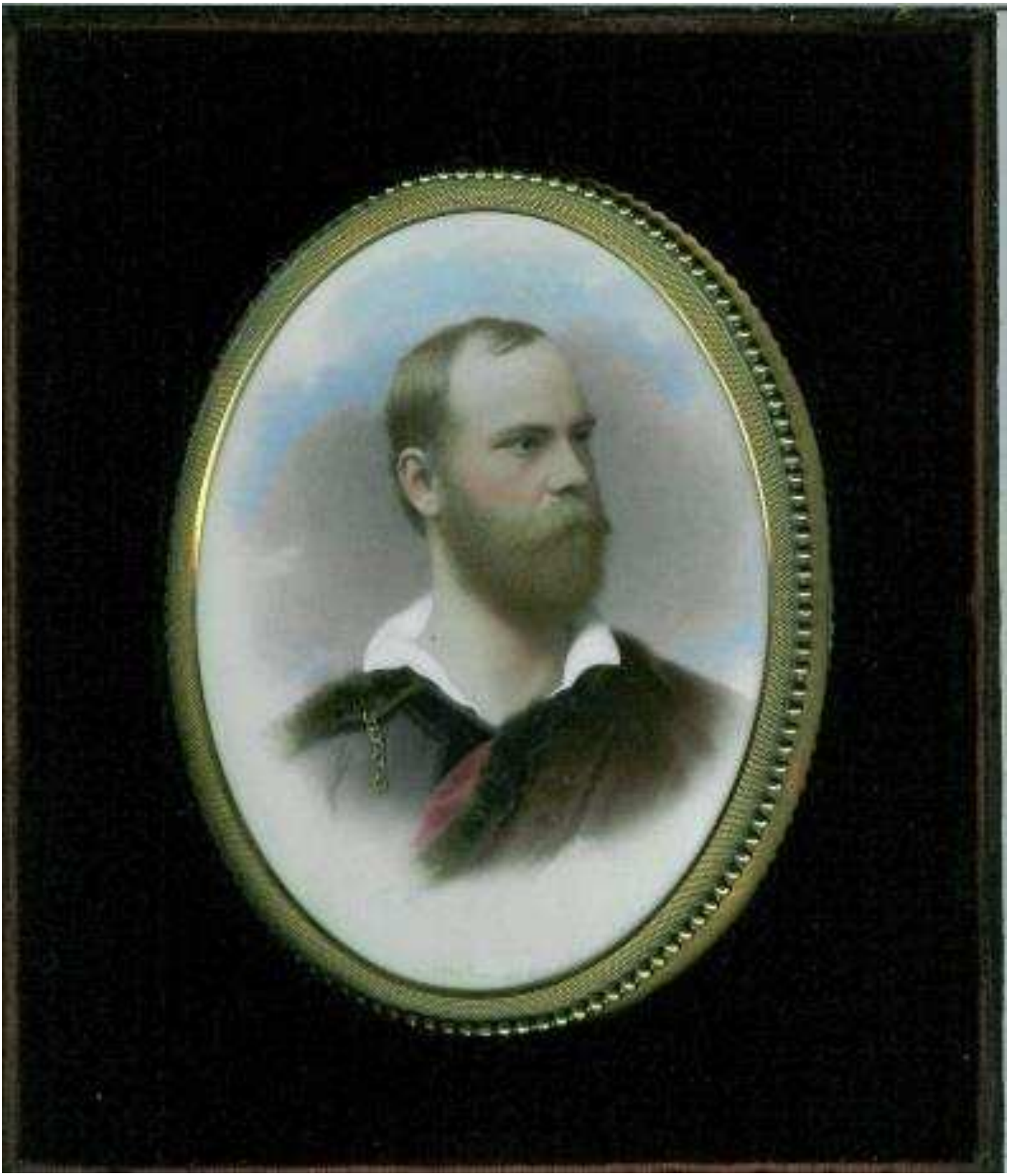


Fig. 18: Photograph of *Samuel Chew* (18324 1887), c.1870s. (NT 91.1.184)

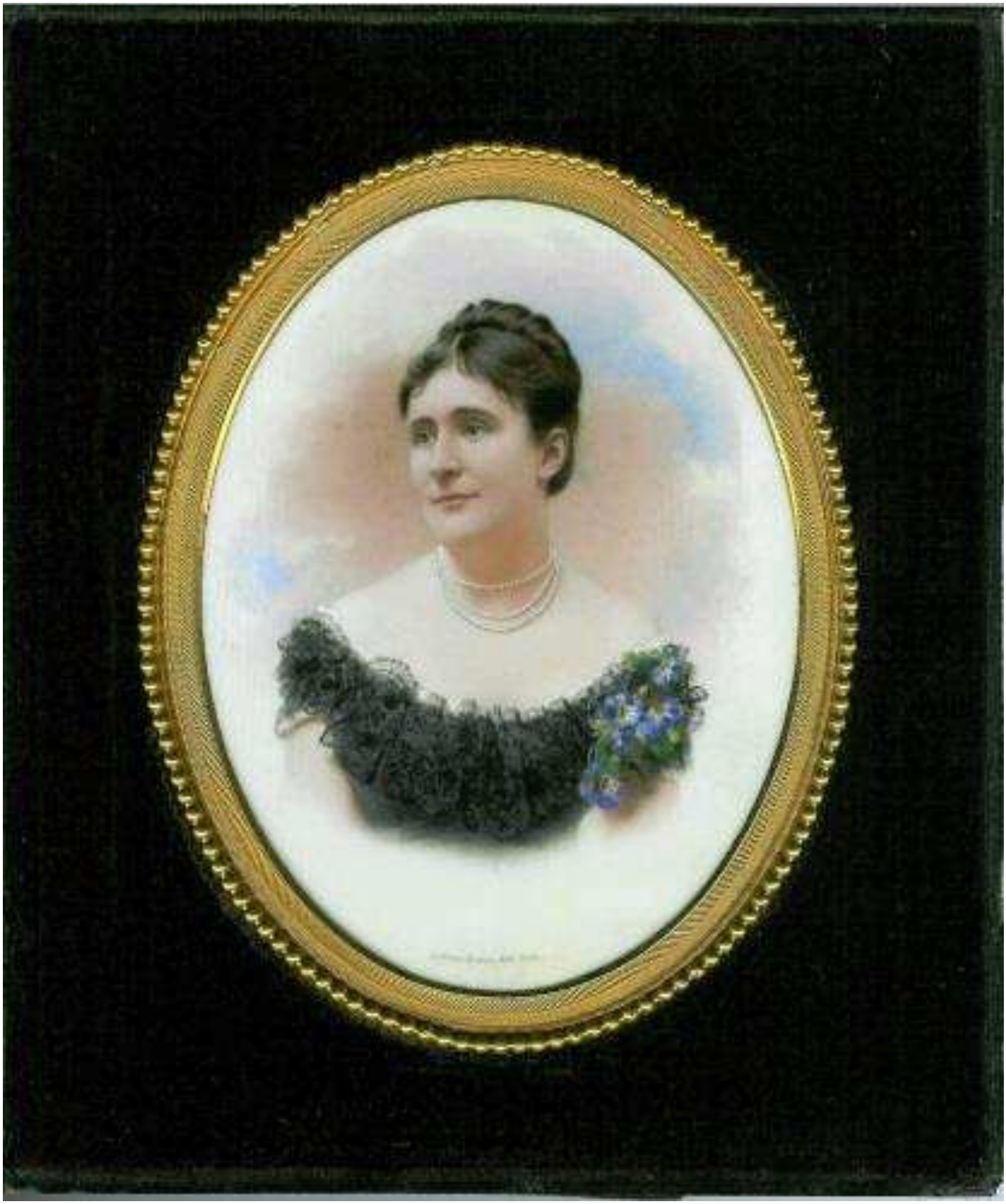


Fig. 19: Photograph of *Mary Johnson Brown Chew* (1839-1927), taken in London, late 1880s. (NT 91.1.183)

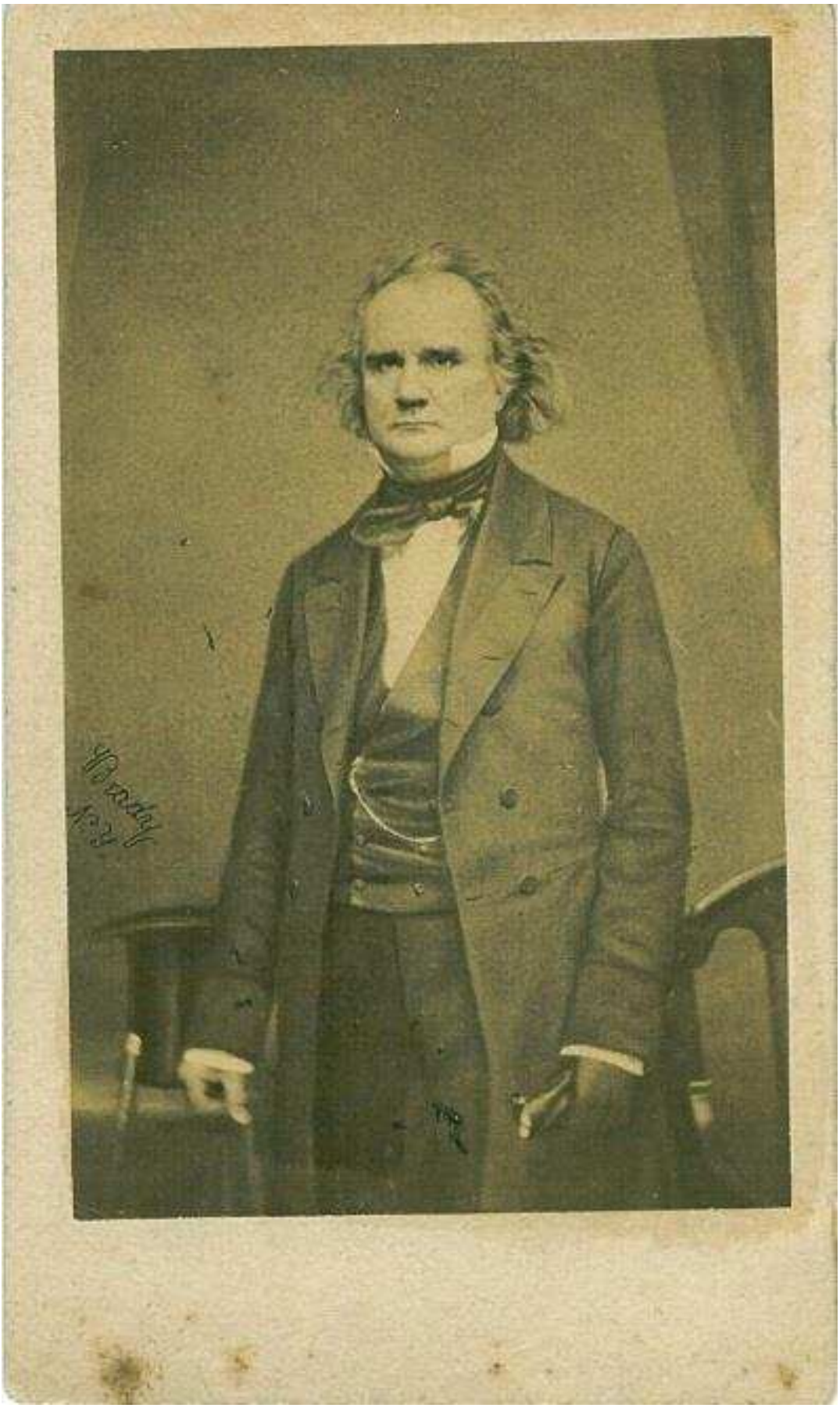


Fig. 20: Engraved portrait of *James Murray Mason* (1798-1871), taken from photograph by Whitehurst. (Gratz Mss. Collection, via NTARC.CL.2.I.JMM1.01)

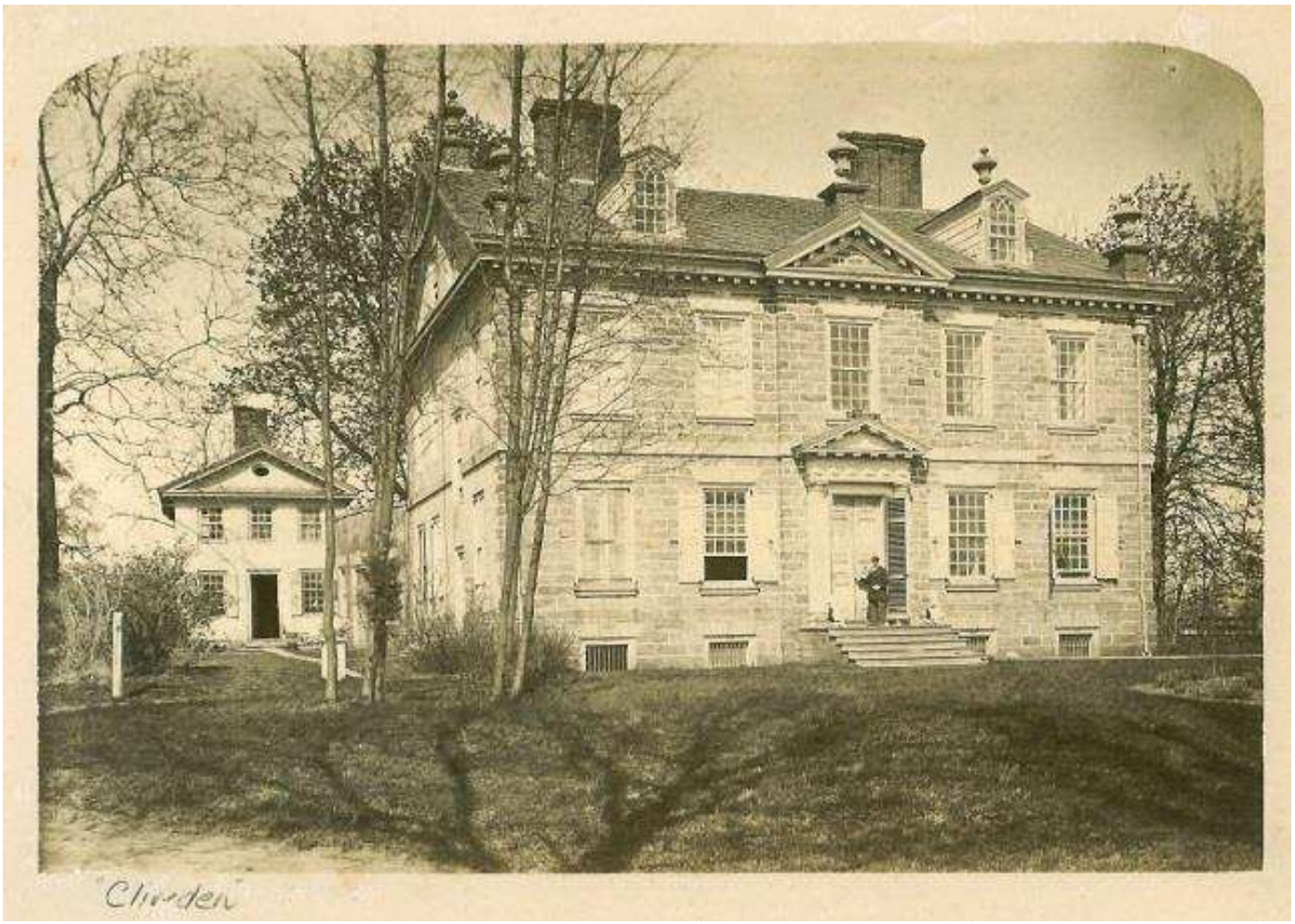


Fig. 21: Photograph of *James Smith* on the steps at Cliveden, taken by Mr. Moran, April 23, 1867. (CL.EMF.II.A.2.2)

Fig. 22: Sketch of the proposed addition drawn by Anne Sophia Penn Chew, 1867. (Photograph, courtesy HSP).

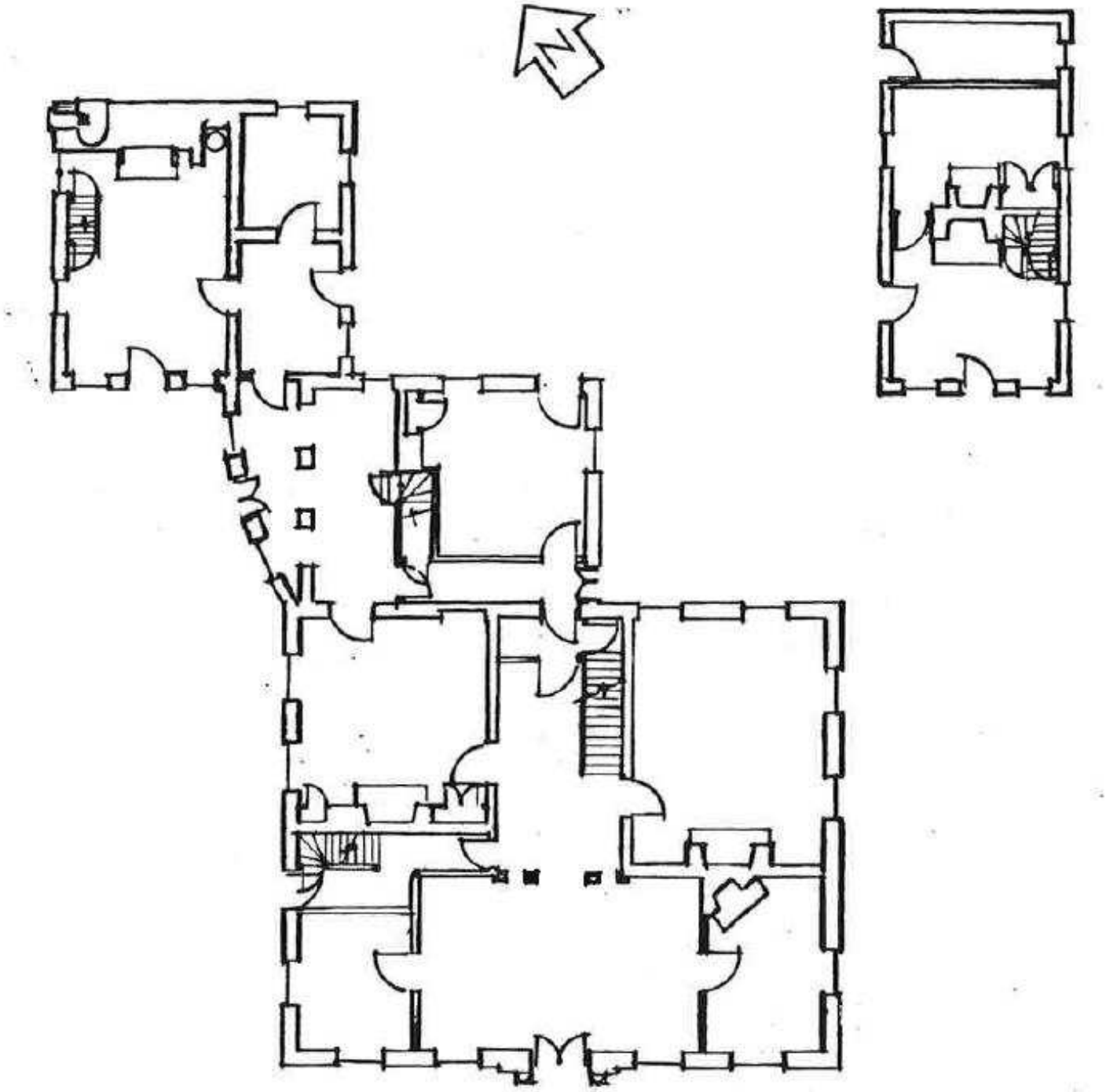


Fig. 23: Plan of the first floor of the Main House, with north addition to the house, 1867-1868. (Based on plans by Cope & Stewartson, July 27, 1896; drawing by Peter Andrew Copp).

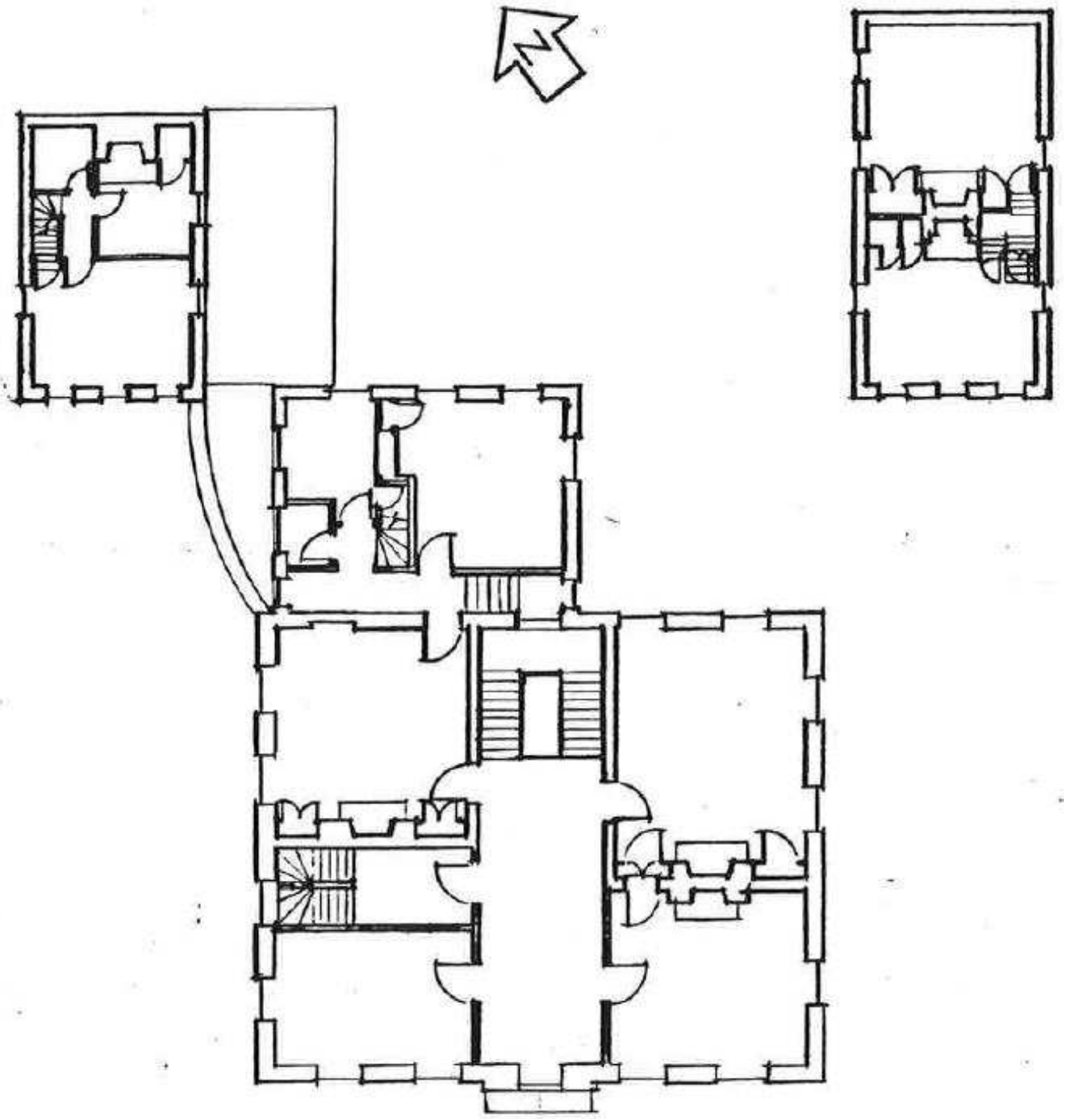


Fig. 24: Plan of second floor of the Main House, with north addition to the house, 1867-1868. (Based on plans by Cope & Stewartson, July 27, 1896; drawing by Peter Andrew Copp).

Fig. 25: T*he Lafayette Reception*, painted by Edward Lamson Henry (1841-1919), c.1874 (NT 72.41.9)

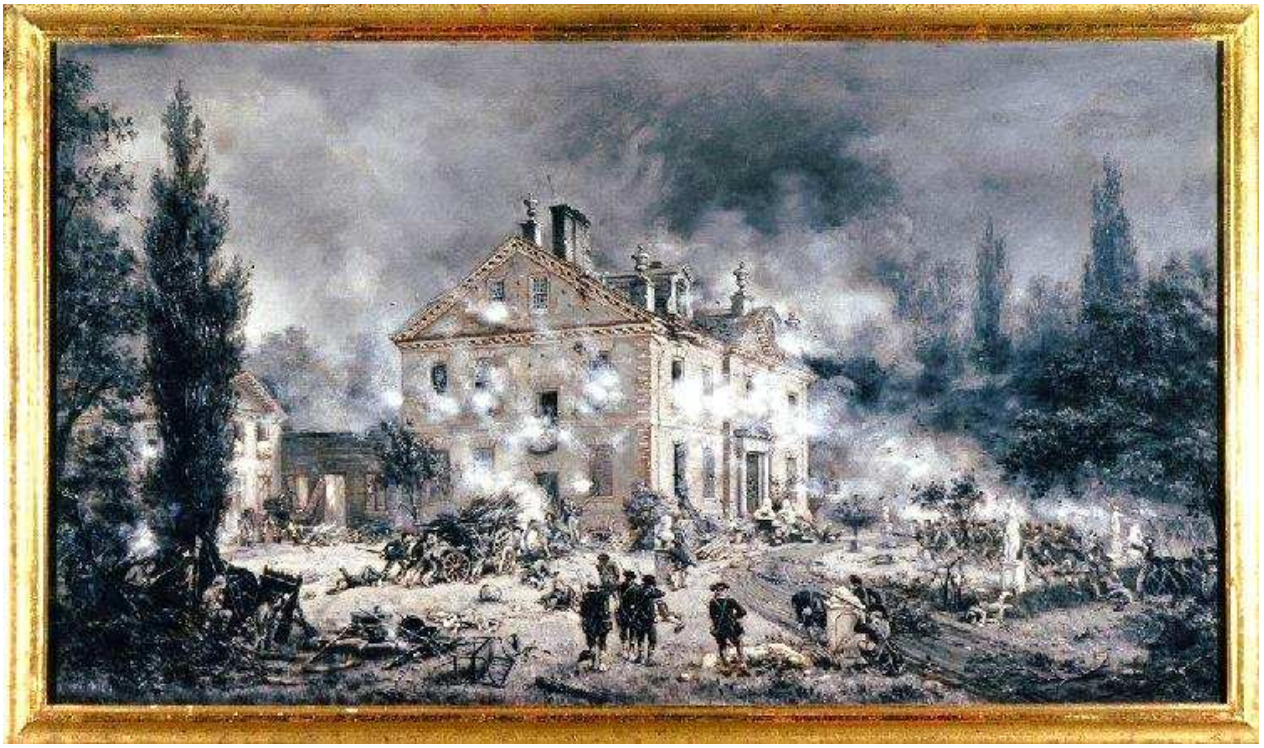


Fig 26: *Cliveden during the Battle of Germantown*, by Edward Lamson Henry (1841-1919), 1875. (NT 72.41.11)

Fig. 27: Photograph of the Parlor taken about 1895 showing the Affleck sofa with "diamond button" tufted cushions. (NTARC.CL.2.II.B.102.01)

Fig. 28: Photograph of *Anne Sophia Penn Chew Alston* (1862-1931) by Hinkle of Philadelphia, June, 1882. (NTARC.CL.2.I.AA.10)

Fig. 29: Photograph of *Elizabeth Brown Chew* (1863-1958) with "Afton," by Dunshee of Philadelphia, c.1880-1885. (NTARC.CL.2.I.EBC.06)

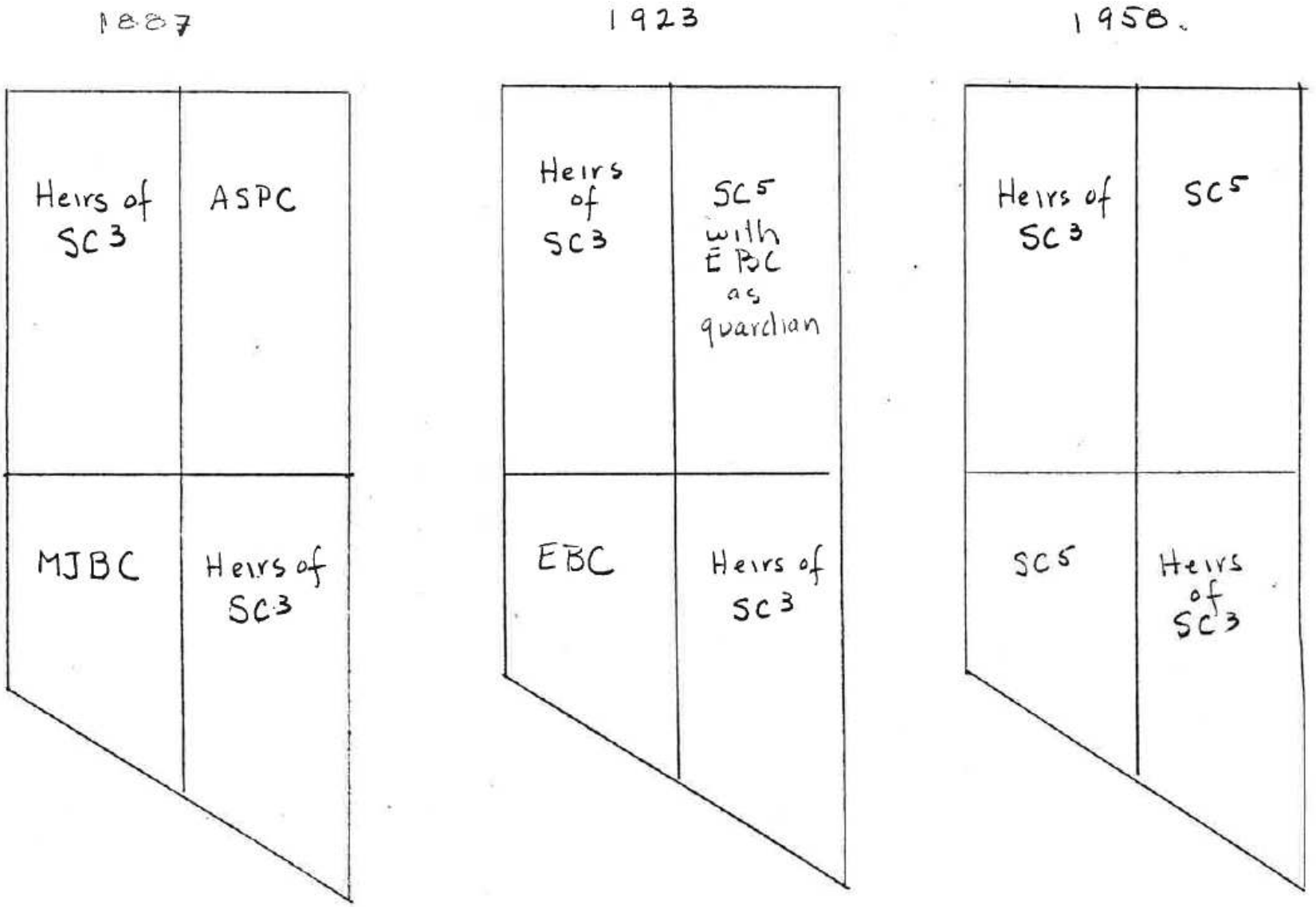


Fig. 30: Plot plan showing the distribution of lots on the six-acre property in 1885, 1923, and 1958. (Unknown Source)

Fig. 31: Photograph of *Samuel Chew* (1871-1919), by Pach Bros, New York City c.1894. (NTARC.CL.2.I.SC2.07)

Fig. 32: Photograph of *Oswald Chew* (1880-1949), c.1891. (NTARC.CL.2.I.OC.07)

Fig. 33: Photograph of Samuel Chew and his sister Elizabeth Brown Chew costumed for a reenactment of the ·"Mischianza" Ball, April 1895. (NTARC.CL.2.1.CFG.24)

Fig. 34: Photogrpah of *Mary Johnson Brown Chew* in garden benind Cliveden, c.1922 (NTARC.CL.2.I.MJBC.14)

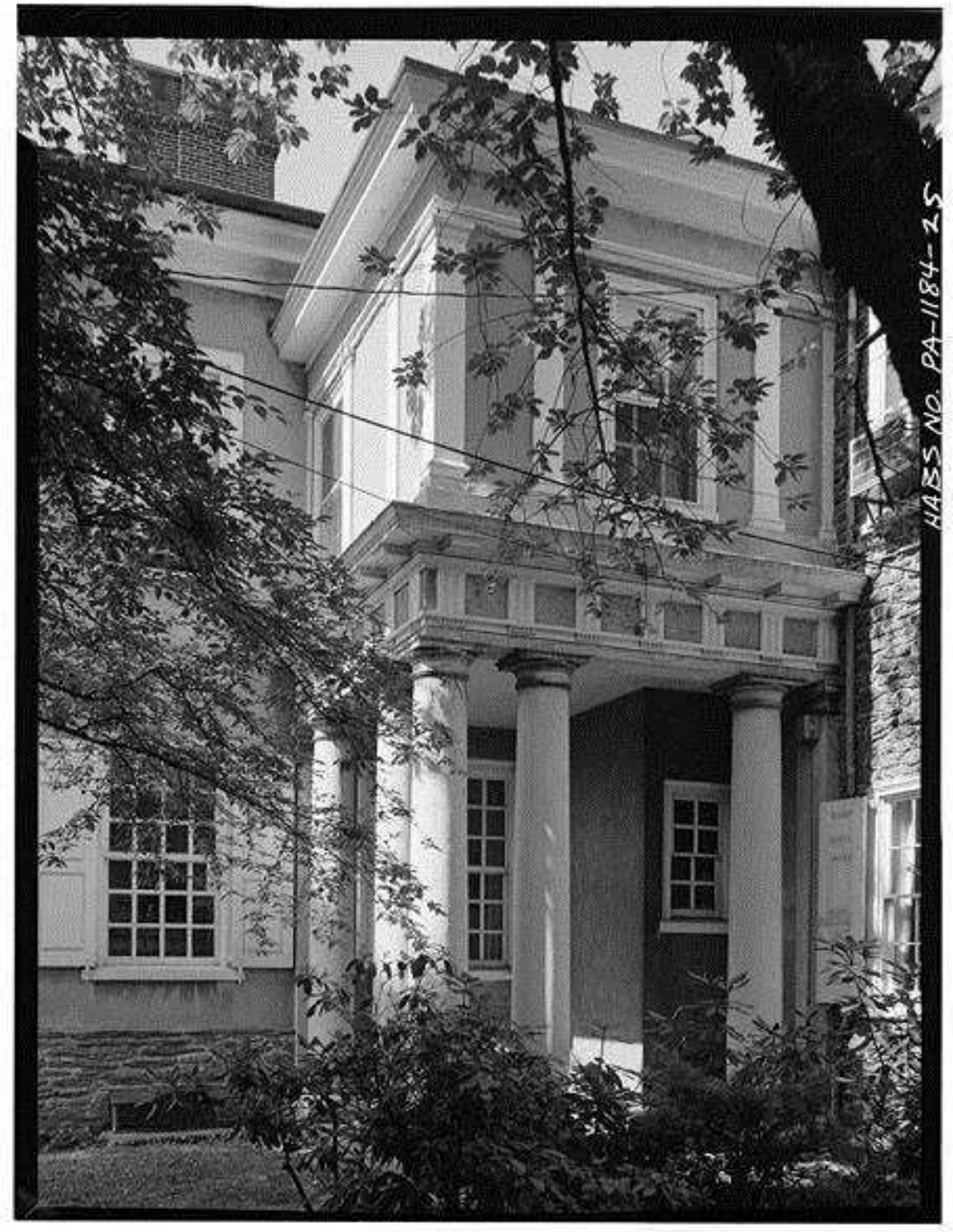


Fig. 35: North Elevation of the Mansion showing the 1921 bathroom addition.
(Photograph by Jack Boucher for HABS, 1972, via NTARC.CL.2.II.B.105.02)

Fig. 36: Photograph of Entrance Hall, c.1931. (NTARC.CL.2.II.B.105.02)
(NTARC.CL.2.II.B.102.04)

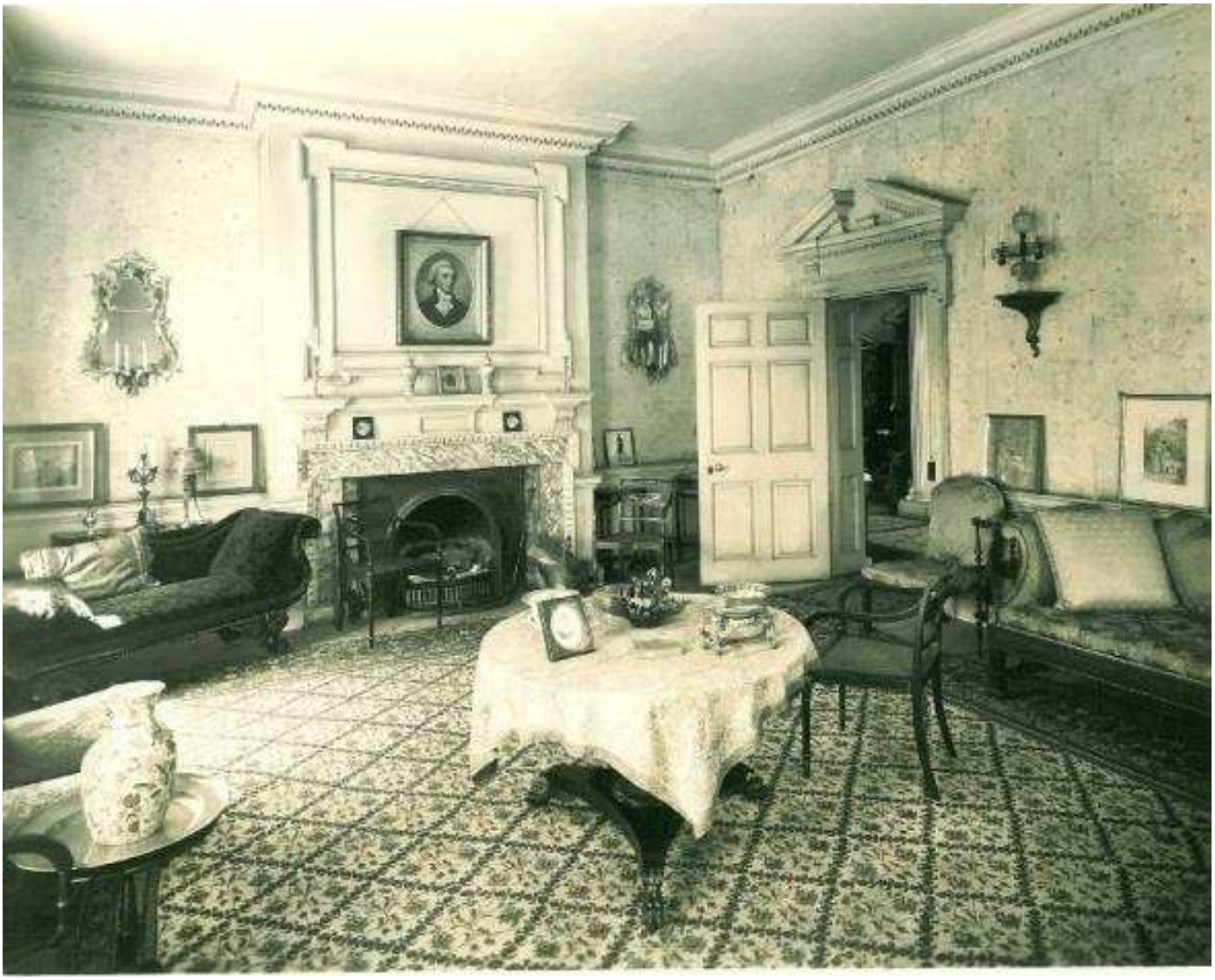
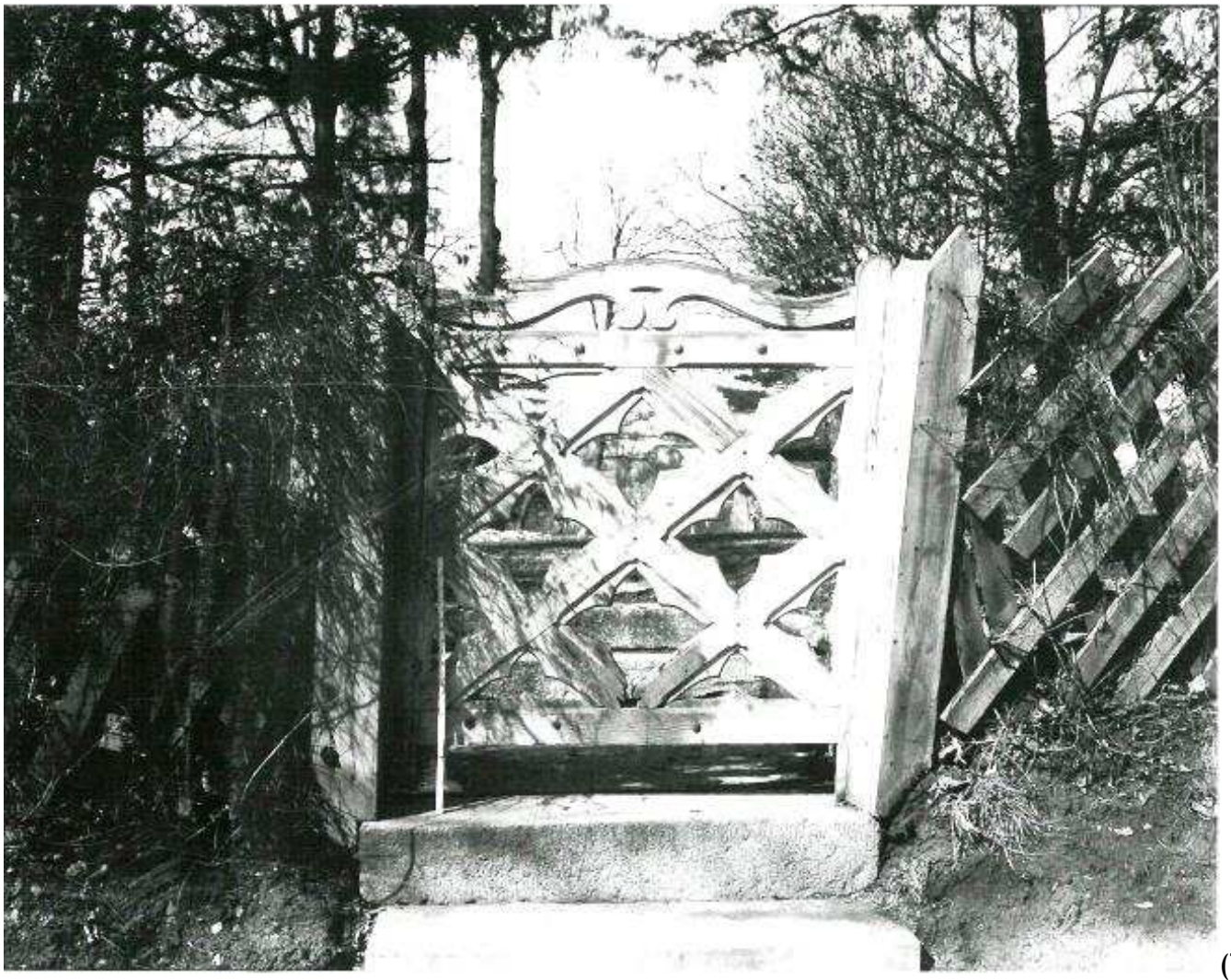


Fig. 37: . Photograph of Drawing Room, fireplace wall, c.1931 (NTARC.CL.2.II.B.102.04) (NTARC.CL.2.II.B.102.5)

Fig. 38: Photograph of Drawing Room, window wall, c.1931. (NTARC.CL.2.II.B.102.5)
(NT 73.55.22.1)

Fig. 39: Looking glass, one of a pair, made by James Reynolds. Purchased by Chief Justice Benjamin Chew, April 20, 1772 for use in his town house. (NT 73.55.22.1) (NT 74.97)

Fig. 40: Partial-gilt looking glass, known today as the Fisher-Cope looking glass, attributed to the shop of James Reynolds, c.1770-1775. (NT 74.97) (Ref--Photo--035)



(Temp)

Fig. 41: Photograph of the wooden lattice fencing and gate on Johnson Street, c.1910.
(Photograph by Frank Cousins for the Essex Inisute via Ref--Photo--035)

Fig. 42: Photograph of entrance gate ·on Germantown Avenue, Cliveden, 1932.
(NTARC.CL.2.II.A.10.01)

Fig. 43: Coach used by Chief Justice Benjamin Chew. (Taken by the Collonial Williamsburg Foundation 1953, via Ref--Photo—126)

Fig. 44: Photograph of *Elizabeth Brown Chew* (1863-1958) seated in the front door at Cliveden, 1942. (P Drive)

Fig. 45: Photograph of *Samuel Chew* (1915-1989) and *Barbara Williams Chew* (1921-1963), 1960. (Courtesy of Vouge, via Sam Chew)

Fig. 45: Photograph of *Elmira and Russell Saunders*, 1990.
(By Bruce Compton)

Fig. 47: Photograph of School Groups at Cliveden.
(PR Photos)

Fig. 48: Photograph of Reenactors for 2014 Reenactment of the Battle of Gemantown (Photograph by Garth Herrick)